Critical Issues

Imaginative Research in a Changing World

Bullying and the Abuse of Power

Edited by

Kristof K. P. Vanhoutte, Gavin Fairbairn &
Melanie Lang

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Introduction

Kristof K. P. Vanhoutte, Gavin Fairbairn & Melanie Lang

Bullying is present in every sphere of life and is perhaps the most important ethical problem in the modern world. It consists, essentially, in the abuse of power, and can involve psychological cruelty, cultural and personal insults, religious and sexual intolerance, the abuse of political and economic power and ultimately physical force. It can ruin lives and it can end lives. Like other enduring cultural phenomena it has an ability to mutate into new forms, which in recent years has included the invasive use of email to intimidate people and the use of text messaging and social networking sites like Facebook and Bebo to threaten and abuse people. Such bullying is particularly common among the young and has claimed many lives through the suicide of victims.

Most of us first come across bullying in school, whether as victims, perpetrators or both. But it is much more significant in human affairs than a bit of pushing and name calling in the playground. It is to be found in education at all levels, from kindergarten to university, among both staff and students, in prisons and detention centres, in sport; in politics both within and between political parties and in workplaces of all kinds. It is found in families, where it manifests itself not only in the squabbling that goes on between siblings, but in domestic violence; in the physical and sexual abuse of children and elders; in the imposition, within some communities, of unwanted marriages, and in the explosions of human emotion that are honour killings. It is found in international relations, with powerful nations bullying less powerful ones.[1] It is also found in international trade, with some multi-national companies abusing the power that their financial and business strength gives them to bully suppliers across the globe that provide the products they sell. It is found in the lack of empathy and fellow feeling that leads to the abuse of political power and physical force, by repressive political regimes that suppress dissent through torture and 'disappearances'. It features strongly in the route that dominant groups in some countries and regions of the world have taken in moving from intolerance via discrimination, to genocide.

Conceived in this way, bullying is clearly a multi-faceted phenomenon, of interest and concern to academics and professionals of all kinds, including psychologists, sociologists, teachers, ethicists, politicians, therapists, philosophers, theologians, political theorists, physicians and human rights' workers.

It is because bullying is so damaging to individuals and communities, and because it results in human misery and the corruption of societal values, that it is important to address it seriously. This is what we aimed to do during the 1st Global Conference on *Bullying & the Abuse of Power: From Playground to International Relations*, at which the papers in this volume were presented. The conference, which took place in Salzburg, Austria, for three days in November 2009, was part of the ongoing programme of Inter-Disciplinary.Net, an

organisation that seeks to find new and invigorating ways of bringing together people with shared concerns, in mutually supportive dialogue about things that matter. Organised around a series of 'hubs', each consisting of ongoing conference-based projects on related topics, Interdisciplinary.net aims to bring together academics, professionals and others who want to make a difference. *Bullying & the Abuse of Power* is part of its *Ethos Hub,* which focuses on critical issues that are thrown up by contemporary life. In line with the ambitions of Inter-Disciplinary.Net, and with the realisation that the complex nature of bullying means it cannot be understood from a single discipline perspective, this project is resolutely inter-disciplinary in nature, and the conference brought together speakers from many walks of life, including a range of professional and academic disciplines, in a shared quest to examine the phenomenon of bullying in a variety of contexts. The selection of papers gathered in this volume offers a snapshot of the material that inspired the many fruitful discussions in which participants engaged as together we founded this ongoing project.

Bullying & the Abuse of Power was a global conference in more than one sense. First, because bullying is an issue that manifests itself in every corner of the globe. Secondly, because it attracted interest from all over the world, and in the end had participants from around twenty countries. Thirdly, it was global in the sense that it gathered participants from a wide range of academic disciplines, including Communication Studies, Theology, Philosophy, Ethics, Education Studies, Health and Life Sciences, Sociology, Political Science, Psychology, English and Social Sciences. Many of the academics present also had experience in the professions, including policing, teaching social work and clinical psychology. Bringing together such a varied group, joined by others from outside academia including therapists and counsellors, helped to open our discussions to more than just theoretical talk. Finally, it was global in the sense that many instances of bullying are truly global in their manifestation and in their implications, including, for example, the bullying that is international terrorism.

1. Thinking about what Bullying Is and what It Isn't

Attempts to define bullying are likely to fail, as it wears different clothes depending on the context. For example, while some bullying is public, in the sense that everyone, including not only the bully and his or her victim but everyone else, can see what is happening, some is invisible to all but those who are personally involved, who experience the satisfaction it offers, or the misery it brings. Some bullying, though visible in the physical and psychological scars of the victims, is difficult to detect - sometimes because it is deliberately hidden by the bullies, but sometimes, as so often happens in domestic abuse, because it is hidden by those who are being bullied.

Some bullying involves physical contact and physical pain. However, some relies solely on threats of physical violence, or on psychological violence delivered

through the spoken or the written word, or through physical menace. While some people believe that in order to qualify as bullying patterns of cruel behaviour have to be repeated again and again, others consider that what makes bullying into bullying is the simple fact that it involves the abuse of the power that one person or group has over another or others, whether or not it is part of a pattern. Some bullies harm many people merely by holding over them the threat that they might do something awful to them; controlling, manipulating and constraining them without harming them at all because they have shown, in their behaviour towards a scapegoat, that they are both willing and able to do so.

During the first session of the 2009 conference, participants were invited to share their views of what bullying *is* and *isn't,* by writing two sentences that began 'Bullying is...' and 'Bullying isn't...' on a piece of paper, which we then shared with others in various ways. This exercise allowed us, as a newly forming community of enquiry, to begin to understand a little of where we were each coming from. Our responses varied, depending on the professional, academic and personal background of the participants. However, the themes that arose are worth noting.

Several people drew attention to the importance of power in bullying. For example, one wrote that 'bullying is committed by someone who holds power in some way over the people he or she bullies,' while another wrote that bullying is '…harassment by a more powerful party towards a less powerful one' and a third, more pithily, that it was 'abusing one's power'. Some drew attention to the importance in bullying of intimidation and threat, one saying that 'bullying is threatening behaviour,' while another referred to the use of 'power or authority to manipulate, intimidate or change the behaviour of others against their will'. Others wrote that bullying was 'abusive, hurtful, damaging' and 'demeaning, harmful, frightening,' and talked about its 'putting people down' or making them 'feel small'.

Some participants showed a more psychological or existential approach in their characterisations of what bullying is, writing that it is a '…futile search for love and recognition' or an '…intrusion into another's self-being'. Some began to focus on bullying in an ethical way, viewing it in terms of a '…lack of respect for the other as an equal human being' or as 'a violation of individual liberty'. Finally, some viewed it as 'a human rights issue' and 'an infringement of a person's right to live in peace'.

Some elements of these perceptions of bullying, which surfaced in attempts to say what bullying is, were mirrored by comments about what bullying is not, including references to the absence of respect involved in bullying and to the inequality that exists between bullies and victims. Some more general observations noted that bullying is 'not acceptable,' 'not fair to those who are bullied' or 'not amusing to the target'. The important role of power was also raised, with some participants stating that bullying is neither about 'simply changing behaviour by

force' nor about '…using your position within a hierarchy of power to change the behaviour of others, whilst respectfully acknowledging their own autonomy and wishes'. Others asserted that bullying does not concern 'the proper use of legitimate authority' and that '…it does not happen when…two people/groups having equal power fight against each other'. One participant hinted at the idea that power in itself is not the problem in acts of bullying, suggesting that bullying is not related to power itself, but to the *abuse* of power.

Some participants drew on ethical notions in their attempts to say what bullying isn't, one pointing out that it '...is not empathy, respect, considering the other as equal' and another that it is not '…a good way of interacting with people'. A third pointed out more simply that 'bullying is not love'.

The attempts to say what bullying is and what it is not that we have outlined here illustrate its complexity, and the broad range of approaches that can be used to better understand this most complex and destructive human phenomenon. The first international conference on *Bullying & the Abuse of Power* included papers about bullying in many of its manifestations, viewed from a variety of disciplinary and personal perspectives. Some speakers drew heavily on theory, while others drew equally heavily on personal experience. All provoked thought, and in this book we have gathered together fifteen of those papers, which together illustrate the complexity of the interdisciplinary issues that surround bullying in all its forms.

2. Where does Bullying Come From?

Several papers touch on the complex issues that arise when we attempt to locate the source of bullying. For example, in 'Sovereign Authority or Leviathan Bully?: Kojève on Distinguishing the Use and Abuse of Power,' Murray Bessette confronts important questions regarding the legitimacy of authority. In doing so, he turns to the French philosopher Alexandre Kojève and his *La notion de l'autorité* ('The notion of authority'). The problem is that it is only when one comes to understand what authority truly means that one can distinguish between using and *ab*using power. Contemplating this precise aspect of authority, as Bessette does, can help us in distinguishing more precisely who uses or *ab*uses power, and thus in coming closer to discerning more clearly who is a bully and who is not.

In his paper, 'Bullying: Root and Branch of Oppression,' Dave Hufton also seeks to illuminate understandings of the sources of bullying. Beginning with his personal experiences of bullying - both in the school ground and in the police academy - Hufton highlights the seemingly paradigmatic loci of bullying. The central point of his paper is not the location of bullying, however, since his fundamental question regards the importance of *words* in the phenomenon of bullying and how they can be considered as oppressive of others. In discussing this aspect of bullying, Hufton turns to the work of Gordon Allport, taking us through the different steps in Allport's treatise *The Nature of Prejudice*: anti-locution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack and, ultimately, extermination. He

points out that the question that remains is: What if a society is constructed on unthought beliefs? Would this, in fact, not easily lead to this horrible last step of Allport's category: extermination?

3. Bystanders in Bullying

Though some bullying goes on in private, because both the bullies and their victims conceal what is going on from others, some bullying takes places in public and in ways that mean others could, if they wished, intervene. The place of bystanders in bullying features in several papers and takes centre stage in two. Agata Komendant-Brodowska's paper 'Sin of Omission: The Behaviour of Bystanders from a Game Theoretical Perspective' focuses on the role of bystanders in bullying, and how the source of bullying derives from others adopting this position. She uses Game Theory to underpin her analysis of the behaviour of bystanders, illustrating the complexity of their decisions when faced with an act of bullying, and demonstrating how group composition factors, such as heterogeneity of interests and resources, can influence both the likelihood that they will react and the degree to which they will do so.

In their paper 'Cyber-Bullying: Exploring the Audience,' Sue Robinson and Suky Macpherson also address the part that bystanders play in bullying. They report on a workshop at *Bullying & the Abuse of Power 2009* that focused on bullying in cyber-space, in which bullies operate by sending abusive and threatening messages via text or posting them on social networking sites. Their aim in exploring a model of bullying as a system between bullies - the bullied and the audience - is to develop strategies for overcoming bullying and building cyber-environments where cultures of respect rather than intimidation prevail. Dividing participants into four groups representing four types of 'audience' – sidekicks, satisfied watchers, immobilised onlookers, and active critics - they attempt to develop understandings of and, unusually, compassion for bystanders to bullying.

4. Bullying in Educational Contexts

The literature on bullying in educational settings has a long history and it is no surprise that several of the papers at *Bullying & the Abuse of Power 2009* drew on this important topic. However, the topics and approaches covered by presenters who discussed bullying in education were varied. Discussing bullying within the context of higher education, Kristof Vanhoutte's paper 'The (Bad) Example of the University' looks at how the history and structure of universities and the discourses that underpin their operation create environments in which bullying can thrive at a structural level. Vanhoutte illustrates how historically divided faculties and the increasing competition for funding and status inherent in contemporary university life creates a social system predicated on structural bullying.

Evy Varsamopoulou's paper, 'The Rage to Control: A Comparative Approach to Bullying as a Symptom of Inoperative Communities,' also focuses on bullying

in higher education. Varsamopoulou highlights how bullying persists in such settings because it is tolerated by the communities in which it takes place. Starting from this, she then conducts a comparative analysis of bullying within the academy and international bullying, in which nation-states function as 'individuals' who show one another (dis)respect.

Melanie Lang's paper 'Intensive Training in Youth Sport: A New Abuse of Power?' focuses on bullying in the training and preparation of young sportspeople. Discussing the 'construction' of young athletes into potential elite performers, she poses the provocative question of whether talented athletes should be pushed into enormously demanding intensive training programmes at a young age. Isn't this a new form of child abuse? Through the use of manifold examples from different sports, such as tennis, skating, swimming and gymnastics, Lang makes a strong argument for labelling such behaviour bullying and even child abuse and, with no unified laws against such behaviour, the strength of this paper cannot be underestimated.

Finally in relation to bullying in educational settings, Gavin Fairbairn's paper 'Suicide and Bullying' begins with personal memories of bullying during his schooldays to draw us, via a discussion of the nature of bullying, into his main focus, which is the way in which bullying can at times lead to suicide. His paper focuses especially on the danger of suicide among those who have been bullied, especially in the school years, and draws attention to the need to alert young people to the dangers both of bullying and of suicidal behaviour. However, Fairbairn also focuses attention on a group that may be neglected when studying the phenomenon of bullying. There are the bullies and the bullied, but there are also those who stand by and allow bullying to go on, when they could have done something about it. Fairbairn invites reflection on whether bystanders are in some way responsible for what they fail to prevent, and points out how important it is that young people should be alerted to the importance of taking action in relation to occasions when they are aware of bullying.

5. Cultural Perspectives

With participants from around twenty countries, *Bullying & the Abuse of Power* provided an intriguing insight into bullying across distinct cultures at both a micro and macro level. In this collection we have included David Frances's moving paper 'Violence and Intimidation in Street-Level Drugs Trading,' in which he addresses micro-level issues through his account of the culture of bullying that permeates the drug trade at street level, and papers by Jerry Cusomano, Vasiliki Kalati and colleagues, and by Christoff Botha, Mariëtta Basson and Jan du Plessis, whose cultural input is at a macro level in their discussions of bullying in Japan, Greece and South Africa, respectively.

Frances draws on his experiences as the devoted father of a drug dependent son, outlining the underhand, intimidating and violent tactics used by drug dealers,

users and neighbourhood businesses that have become complicit in the drug trade. His stoic, warts-and-all description of the 'lived in' experiences of drug dealers and addicts provides a much-needed insight into a world about which so little is known and gives a voice to the population of drug users who find themselves trapped not only by their dependency, but also by the social and political mores of the 21st century.

In his paper 'Bullying: Japanese Style' Cusumano confronts the problem of bullying in Japan, demonstrating the particular characteristics of bullying in this Asiatic country. He points out that bullying 'Japanese style' has several unique characteristics including a strong feminine nuance which characterises many Japanese forms of bullying, or *ijime* as it is known. Cusumano also argues that bullying has strong group connotations in Japan, while 'macho-style' or 'individualistic' characteristics that are common aspects of bullying in Western cultures are largely absent from bullying in Japan. The paper concludes by outlining some of the measures the Japanese government has taken to confront bullying.

The paper by Kalati, Psalti and Deliyianni-Kouimtzi, 'Greek Students' Perceptions of School Bullying: The Profile of Victims and Perpetrators' reports on a Greek study of school violence in relation to the formation of gender and cultural identities. In detailing the frequency, types and characteristics of school bullying and the profile of victims and perpetrators in relation to age, gender, ethnicity and academic performance, Kalati and colleagues build up a useful profile of both bullies and their victims in a Greek context.

Botha, Basson and du Plessis focus on perceptions of bullying in the workplace in South Africa. In 'The Perception of Postgraduate Students Regarding Workplace Bullying' they explore bullying as it is experienced by individuals - in this case, postgraduate students in the Masters in Business Administration course at North Western University, South Africa. Through the use of statistical models and a questionnaire, the authors compare whether, and to what extent, the personal experience of being bullied is linked to bullied individuals having themselves been bullied.

6. Bullying at an International Level

Moving away from the micro and towards the macro, Serp Balci's paper, 'The Repercussions of U.S. Bullying on Turkish Foreign Policy in Two Case Studies,' discusses bullying in international relations, focusing on two incidents involving Turkey and the United States. The first relates to the complicated socio-political situation that regards the division of Cyprus, and in particular, an incident when possible Turkish unilateral action to prevent a dispute on this Mediterranean island was abruptly interrupted by the then-U.S. president Lyndon Johnson. The second case study Balci presents relates to retaliation by American troops to the Turkish Government's non-cooperation with their Troop Deployment Plan for the invasion

of Iraq over Turkish soil. Balci describes how American troops captured and humiliated Turkish soldiers in what has become known as the 'Hood event'.

Finally, in relation to international perspectives on bullying, Hannes Cannie and Dirk Voorhoof discuss some problems that could arise between Article 10 and Article 17 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) known respectively as the 'article on freedom of speech or expression' and the 'abuse clause'. Even though the 'abuse clause' was created to prevent Nazi-ideology and, especially, Holocaust denial from regaining roots in European settings, it can and unfortunately, according to the authors, has gone beyond its prime objectives; in its attempts to avoid abuse, it seems to risk becoming an instrument of abuse. In fact, contrary to the treatment of Article 10, not all factual elements are examined when Article 17 is called into question and, as such, according to Cannie and Voorhoof, further specification is required.

The papers in this eBook address bullying of different kinds and in a wide range of contexts. However, the phenomena they describe and discuss all display features that tie them together as belonging to a network of related ways in which human beings mistreat and disrespect one other and have done throughout recorded history. We hope this eBook will help to provoke discussion of the nature of bullying and of its limits, its origins and the range of contexts in which it is to be found.

Not everyone whose work is included here has the same scholarly or professional interests; and not all would agree, either about why bullying matters, or about what should be done about it. Nor, although there are some examples that would almost universally be viewed as bullying, would the authors always agree about what is to count as bullying. For example, not everyone would view terrorism as a form of bullying, despite the fact that it clearly involves the abuse of power gained by threats of violence in the attempt manipulate those against whom it is used. On the other hand, most would probably accept that treating suspected terrorists cruelly and in ways that involve taking delight in inflicting terror on them not only amounts to bullying but is for that reason to be deprecated and challenged. And all would probably agree that whatever bullying is, it is not something of which as people, we should be proud.

Our hope is that by raising some questions and providing a forum for collegial discussion of the distressing tendency for human beings to take enjoyment in the abuse of power they find they can exert over others, we can contribute to the ongoing work that needs to be done if bullying is to be understood in all its manifestations.

[1] This includes the bullying that results when nuclear powers develop the view that though it is OK for them to possess the means to destroy the earth, it is not OK for others to do so.

Part 1:

The Source of Bullying

Sovereign Authority or Leviathan Bully: Kojève on Distinguishing the Use and Abuse of Power

Murray S.Y. Bessette

Abstract
An important political question is whether or not constraint can be made legitimate, whether authority and force are different, albeit related, things. The phenomenon of bullying, or the abuse of power then, raises the question of the use of power, or rather, the proper use of power and is, therefore, another means of exploring the problems of just and unjust rule of legitimate and illegitimate authority. Few theorists have examined the question 'What is authority?' either taking it for granted or dismissing it. Alexandre Kojève, in *La Notion de L'Autorité*, identifies the four theories of authority (the theological, the Platonic, the Aristotelian, and the Hegelian) that have been elaborated throughout history, and argues both that each is irreducible to the others and that all together are exclusive of any other. Moreover, he sketches the necessary consequences for the political, moral, and psychological spheres of authority properly understood. In the final analysis, it is only when we understand what authority is and how authoritative power is used that we can distinguish between the use and abuse of power.

Key Words: Authority, freedom, good, justice, Kojève, mastery, paternal, Plato, risk, slavery.

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According to the ancients, human beings come together in political communities because 'each of us isn't self-sufficient but is in need of much'.[1] In fact, Aristotle goes so far as to assert, 'one who is incapable of participating or who is in need of nothing through being self-sufficient is no part of a city and so is either a beast or a god'.[2] Setting aside savages and deities, the mutual needfulness of human beings together with their rational capacity and essential diversity naturally gives rise to social organisation in general, and division and specialisation of labour in particular.[3] This economic division and specialisation in turn requires an economic collection and equation, meaning a common assessment of value and means of exchange. The necessity of equation points to the question of equity or justice and, thus, to the need for political organisation, for a recognised common or sovereign authority, to settle disputes about the relative value of work and products. While it is not clear how many loaves of bread are equal to a pair of shoes, it is clear that it is in the interest of the baker and not in the interest of the shoemaker for the number to be less rather than more. This extreme case occurs when one seeks to obtain something from the other while exchanging nothing in

return. Obviously, the identification of this 'exchange' as a problem precludes the possibility that what is referred to here is a gift; rather, it is grift and graft, theft and thievery. In other words, the extreme case is that of obtaining through the use of force (either intellectual or physical) that to which one has no right. The one who undertakes such an enterprise is a bully.

The existence of the bully, according to the moderns, is the perennial problem of political life. Hobbes, the founder of the modern liberal regime, contends that human beings 'naturally love liberty, and dominion over others'.[4] This double love leads each to seek to control all that touches upon or may touch upon any aspect of his or her life with the inevitable result that each quickly finds his or herself in a war of all against all - the State of Nature. Ultimately, Hobbes observes, this desire for complete control is rooted in our common fear of 'violent death'.[5] While Hobbes takes great pains to argue that this common fear ultimately serves to level all other inequalities and to provide the foundation for the political equality of individuals under the rule of the sovereign authority, in the final analysis his argument is unpersuasive.[6] To be persuaded of Hobbes' argument one must elide the existence of individuals who can transcend the fear of violent death, that is, those individuals who are willing to risk their lives to obtain a desired end. In fact, it often goes unremarked that it is precisely these 'children of pride'[7] who provide the solution to the perennial problem of political life – they, in their roles as policemen and soldiers, confront the everyday bullies on behalf of the common or sovereign authority.

The question posed by both the ancients and the moderns has been: what is the source of the common authority manifest in the political community? For the ancients, on the one hand, this authority is rooted in the common customs and conventions, gods and ancestors, habits and laws of the polis, which are comprised by the notion of *nomos*. Like *phusis* (nature), *nomos* is the given, its genesis a natural outgrowth of human interaction, which persists as the accumulated underbrush of heredity. Philosophy, which is said to arise from the recognition of the distinction between *phusis* and *nomos*, becomes political philosophy when it turns its critical gaze to this overgrown briar patch and problematises the common, unifying standards of the political community from whose perspective it is a radical and dangerous activity. For the moderns, on the other hand, this common authority is rooted in the social contract that brings an end to the State of Nature, as such it is an artefact of human interaction. The State of Nature, however, is hypothetical (excepting that which exists during civil war); it is for this reason that Hobbes acknowledges a second source of the genesis of authority - 'natural force'.[8] In a sense, then, the moderns too see common authority as a given, which is perhaps why Jean-Jacques Rousseau observes in *The Social Contract*:

> Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. One believes himself the master of others, who nevertheless is more a slave

> than they. How did this change come about? I do not know. What can make it legitimate? I believe I can solve this question.[9]

On the surface, it would seem that the question of the *legitimacy* of political authority must be distinguished from that of its source and genesis; however, if Alexandre Kojève is correct in his analysis of the notion of authority, 'when an action is authoritarian [meaning possessing the character of authority], it is legal or legitimate by definition. It makes no sense to speak of illegitimate or illegal authority: it is a contradiction *in adjecto*'.[10] To speak of legitimate authority, then, is redundant. Ultimately, what Rousseau is asking after is whether or not mere force can be made authoritative - if the origin of a political community is not consensual, that is, if it rests not on the social contract, then this question seems to be of the gravest import. The distinction that must be drawn is between authority and force - why is submission to the former acceptable, even laudable, but submission to the latter only necessary, perhaps even repugnant? To rephrase this in other terms: what distinguishes a king from a tyrant, or a policeman from a bully?

Here it behoves us to take up Kojève's analysis of the notion of authority as he presents it in the book of the same name. Kojève begins:

> Curious thing, the problem and the notion of authority has been very little studied. Above all we are occupied by questions relative to the transfer and genesis of authority, but the essence of this phenomenon has rarely drawn attention. And moreover, it is from all evidence impossible to treat of political power and the structure of the state without knowing what is authority *qua* authority.[11]

It is likely that many find the latter part of this observation puzzling, for if political philosophy has treated any subjects at all it certainly has treated those of political power and the structure of the state. However, to buttress Kojève's contention, I merely will observe that the social contract theory elaborated by Hobbes in *Leviathan* seeks to explain the origin of political authority, while that of Rousseau seeks to justify it, that is, neither seeks to answer the question 'What is authority?' According to Kojève:

> The authoritarian act differs from all others by the fact that it does not encounter *opposition* on the part of the person or persons upon whom it is directed. This presupposes, on the one hand, the *possibility* of opposition and, on the other hand, the *conscious* and *voluntary* renunciation of the possibility of realising it.[12]

Moreover, 'authority is necessarily a *relation* (between agent and patient): it is therefore an essentially *social* (and not individual) phenomenon'.[13] The use of the term 'patient,' as opposed to 'subject,' calls to mind the physician and, thereby, connects authority to the good of the one who submits to it - it provides a possible explanation as to why one consciously and voluntarily submits to the direction and serves as a possible ground for the distinction between authority and force. Authority is the capacity to direct the action of the external human environment, either social or political, without making compromises broadly understood (*i.e.*, encountering opposition, including even discussion).[14] Kojève argues that this understanding of authority clearly connects it to the phenomenon of right, which is understood to be the ability to do something without encountering opposition.[15] The essential difference between authority and right is the following:

> In the case of authority, the 'reaction' (opposition) never leaves the domain of pure *possibility* (it is never *actualized*): its *realization* destroys authority. In the case of right, on the contrary, the 'reaction' can be actualized without destroying the right: it suffices that this reaction is suffered by someone other than the one who holds the right.[16]

In short, 'authority excludes force, in principle; right implies and presupposes it, while remaining something other than it'.[17] Authority, therefore, involves making someone do through direction *without force* that which, absent from the direction, they otherwise would not do spontaneously.[18]

The necessity of recognition for the existence of authority, that is, the necessity of the conscious and voluntary renunciation of the possibility of opposition to the directive, raises the question of why one recognises and submits to it.[19] The answer varies according to the type of authority in question. Kojève identifies four irreducible theories of authority: the theological, the Platonic, the Aristotelian, and the Hegelian, which respectively are embodied by the father, the judge, the chief, and the master. The grounds of authority in each case, moreover, are heredity, justice, prudence, and risk.[20] Each theory is exclusive, meaning it recognises only one type of authority; to demonstrate how each is insufficient is one of the purposes of Kojève's analysis.[21]

The Hegelian theory treats the relations of master and slave, as such it does not speak to the authoritarian relations existent between equals. As Kojève explains:

> Mastery is born of mortal combat for recognition. The two adversaries posit an essentially human, non-animal, non-biological end: that of being 'recognised' in their human reality or dignity. While the future master meets the test of combat and

> risk, the future slave fails to master his animal dread of death. He therefore concedes, recognises the superiority of the victor and submits to him as a slave to his master.[22]

In the final analysis, it is the overcoming of the natural aspect of human nature by the human (i.e., the sublimation of brute force) that serves as the ground of the master's authority over the slave.[23]

Aristotle's theory of authority also treats the relations of those who are unequal. It treats the authority of the leader over the lead, of the chief over the band. The ground of the chief's authority lies not in vanquishing those he leads in the thumotic contest for recognition, but rather the chief has the 'right to exercise an authority over [those he leads] because he can foresee, whereas [those he leads] register nothing but *immediate* needs and are guided exclusively by them'.[24] The authority of the chief, of the one who proposes the project ultimately, rests not upon the project per se but upon the good to be attained thereby. Those who submit to the leadership and direction of the chief do not do so simply because he proposes just any project, but because he proposes a project that will further the common good as they understand it. As such, the authoritarian criterion for Aristotle is not so much foresight as the good, or at least that which is perceived as good - a fact that Kojève never addresses. The perceived good raises the problem of knowing what is actually and not just apparently good. One can reasonably doubt that Aristotle would deem the one who has the foresight required to persuade those around him that the appearance of a project that is apparently good, but is not actually good, is the reality as possessing the right to exercise authority. Rightful authority is itself a questionable phenomenon given Kojève's analysis - can one have a right, which implies and presupposes force, to that which by its very nature excludes force? In other words, can one enforce the right to exercise authority, or does the very need for enforcement destroy the authority in question? This question points to an anti-utopian view of politics; if, like illegitimate authority, rightful authority too is a contradiction *in adjecto*, then a purely authoritarian politics would appear to be impossible, meaning government without force (i.e.: violence) cannot exist. It must be observed, however, that right itself can be said to possess an authority, that is, the authority of justice or equity. At bottom one can conceive of the securing of the rights of individuals as 'giv[ing] to each what is owed'.[25]

> For Plato, all authority is - or at least, ought to be - founded on justice or equity. All other forms of authority are illegitimate. This means, practically, not stable, not durable, transient, ephemeral, accidental. In reality, all power that does not rest on justice rests not on an authority in the proper sense of the term. It is maintained only through force (through 'terror').[26]

Kojève highlights the fact that justice cannot explain the authority of masters, chiefs, and fathers, by pointing to the conflicting obligations of filial obedience and the sentiment of justice.[27] That Plato was aware of this conflict is obvious from any reading of the *Euthyphro*.[28]

The theological theory of authority, which Kojève identifies with the scholastics, is akin to that of cause over effect, that is, to the hereditary determination of the cause in the effect. This character draws together fatherly and divine authority, as does the fact that for good or for ill, we can have no control over that which we inherit, meaning just as we cannot react against the divine, neither can we react against and change the given into which we are born - which is not to say it cannot be changed going forward.[29]

Here we come full circle. The authority of *nomos*, of that which we inherit and are born into, is that of fathers and gods. Through critical analysis, ancient political philosophy revealed this authority to be internally inconsistent, that is, it laid bare the fact that the demands of fathers and gods could come into conflict. In place of paternal, hereditary authority, the ancient philosophers sought to establish another standard. This attempt to replace the power of the father with that of the judge or that of the chief was co-opted by the mediaeval scholastic tradition against which the moderns fought so as to bring about a rebirth of political philosophy. The modern liberal project that begins with Hobbes and culminates in Hegel gives preference to the authority of the master, while seeking to incorporate institutionally the authority of the judge and chief.[30] The sovereign for Hobbes is the one whom all others recognise as the final arbiter of conflicting claims, either because he has shown them a way out of the state of nature, or because they all fear him, but not because of his superior justness - since justice and injustice are 'qualities, that relate to men in society, not in solitude,' they arise only after the sovereign has been recognised as such and, thus, the former cannot serve as the basis of selection.[31] In a sense, the moderns seek to lower justice lest it again provide grounds for the reestablishment of the rule of god the father. Furthermore, the justice preached by classical liberalism, that of the equality of rights arising out of the State of Nature and the social contract, is preached precisely because human nature will recognise no other arrangement as true - each holds his or herself to be roughly equal if not slightly superior in dignity to his or her fellows and demands to be recognised accordingly.[32] Whether or not this is actually the case is besides the point, the issue here is one of consent - if individuals will not consent to enter into the social contract save upon terms of equality, then one with foresight cannot do otherwise than recognise it, as it is required for peace and peace is good for all.

Notes

[1] Plato, *Republic*, trans. A Bloom, Basic Books, New York, 1968, 369c.

[2] Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. C Lord, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984, 1253a26-28.
[3] Plato, *Republic*, 369e-370c.
[4] T Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, p. 117. This double love is manifest in our relations with our exterior environment: we see it in modern science whereby we seek both mastery of and freedom from Nature; we see it in politics whereby we seek both to prescribe and proscribe individual and social behaviour according to our presumably idiosyncratic preferences; finally, we see it in our social relations whereby we seek to influence others while being free from others' influence.
[5] Hobbes, p. 89. For another view of the naturalness of the desire to control, see B F Skinner, *About Behaviourism*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1974, pp.189-190.
[6] Hobbes, op. cit., p. 86-89.
[7] Hobbes, op. cit., p. 221. See also *Job* 41:34.
[8] Hobbes, op. cit., p. 121.
[9] JJ Rousseau, *Oeuvres Complètes: tome 3*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris, 1964, p. 351. All translations are my own.
[10] A Kojève, *La Notion de L'Autorité*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris, 2004, p. 62. All translations are my own.
[11] Kojève, op. cit., p. 49.
[12] Kojève, op. cit., p. 57.
[13] Kojève, op. cit., p. 58.
[14] Kojève, op. cit., pp. 58-59.
[15] Kojève, op. cit., p. 59.
[16] Kojève, op. cit., p. 60. In light of this passage, it might prove profitable to compare Kojève's notion of authority to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, which refers 'to a relationship between two political units where one dominates the other with the consent of that other,' see MA Finocchiaro, 'Gramsci, Antonio', *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (2nd ed), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p. 353-354.
[17] Kojève, op. cit., p. 60.
[18] Kojève, op. cit., pp. 58, 61 and 66.
[19] Kojève, op; cit., p. 66.
[20] Kojève, op. cit., p. 50.
[21] Kojève, op. cit., p. 51.
[22] Kojève, op. cit., pp. 70-71.
[23] Kojève, op. cit., p. 83.
[24] Kojève, op. cit., p. 73.
[25] Plato, *Republic*, 331e.
[26] Kojève, op. cit., p. 77.
[27] Kojève, op. cit., p. 77.

[28] Plato, 'Euthyphro', in *Four Texts on Socrates*. T. G. West and G. S. West (trans), Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1984.
[29] Kojève, op. cit., p. 81.
[30] While Kojève maintains that paternal authority is amputated in the separation of powers, it is not entirely clear that it does not come to rest with the constitution itself, which is held to be venerable, see Kojève, pp. 142-143.
[31] Hobbes, op. cit., p. 90.
[32] Hobbes, op. cit., p. 88.

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Bullying: The Root and Branch of Oppression

David R. Hufton

Abstract
In this paper I talk first about bullying from a personal perspective. I am not a human rights lawyer. I don't need to be. I know when my rights have been impugned. I know how I feel: fearful, angry, frightened, aggressive, torn, undermined and belittled. Sometimes one of these feelings will be in the ascendant; but often what I feel is an amalgam of everything that I cannot resolve. I just feel sick, undermined, passively seething. Sometimes I even wonder if I long to kill or be killed. Usually it starts with words - syllabic razor shards of malice, hatred or the lethal poison of indifference. And how it becomes easier to understand and deal with when I am openly attacked. Then I can see my 'enemy;' I can plan my counter attack and my defence. But what do I do when it's 'just' words? I was taught that 'words can never hurt me' but what lies we tell our children! Words were ever the attack I never saw coming, the stealth bombers that flew in under the radar and tripped the wires of my undermining. Bullying is a near universal phenomenon; we all bully and are bullied. I will explore some truths about the human condition, the nature of self and groups - about power and its abuse and the outcome of oppression. I will touch on Gordon Allport's seminal work 'The nature of prejudice' and especially on his 'scale of discrimination,' which suggests that words underpin and enable all forms of discrimination, from playground bullying to murder and genocide. I then relate this briefly to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and symbolic violence to illustrate the pervasiveness and complexity of bullying and oppression in the whole human environment.

Key Words: Allport, Bourdieu, bullying, discrimination, genocide, habitus, oppression, power, prejudice, symbolic violence.

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1. Introduction

'Bullying' although very widely construed and near universal in its experience is often underestimated in extent and complexity. It is so pervasive that I call it the 'root and branch' of oppression. It is the agency of that conscious misuse of power that intimidates and victimizes. It is the unconsciously, almost randomly wielded tool that haphazardly feeds the socially inadequate person's will to power, that defends them from the anxiety of overwhelming chaos and justifies their prejudice, enabling them to cope by living irresponsibly, building a world of false security and meaning. The term bullying has many names and aspects, but whatever we call it, bullying results in the oppression of others.

Definitions for bullying vary and tend to be contextualised to the focus of the particular article or research under consideration. A semi-random online search for 'definitions' in relevant, reputable websites revealed variations in emphasis, but strongly linked themes. Essentially, bullying involves: intimidating a weaker person to make them do something; behaviour intended to extend power over another; hiding inadequacy; the avoidance of responsibility for behaviour and its effects; action to reduce fear and hiding low self-confidence and low self-esteem. There is agreement that bullies use their wide-ranging prejudices as a vehicle for dumping their 'seething resentment, bitterness, hatred and anger' onto others.

2. Some Personal Experience - Just Two Incidents

I was told that SL, the 5th year school bully was out to get me, a 3rd year, in the Grammar School equivalent of a 'contract'. Instantly, I became hyper-vigilant. I didn't know that was what I'd become, but that's what it is, to suddenly realize that you are a victim in waiting. When he found me, he instantly started shouting and swearing at me. I recall shouting back, protesting my innocence; hating his unreasoning stance. But then he started poking me with a finger in my chest. I exploded. I lost all sense of restraint raining blows to his head and body. He reeled back to the edge of the stairs and I don't know what happened next as I was completely out of control. Reports from amazed onlookers, gleefully watching, say that I punched, pushed or kicked him down the stairs to the half-landing. I cannot remember how I left the scene or what I did next. Or how I got home. Or what I said to anyone. Or why I was never arrested, come to that.

Years later I learned that SL's arm was fractured, his jaw broken in two places and two teeth were knocked out. I do not want to believe that I could harm another human being like this, whatever the provocation. But I am both humbled and deeply troubled to know that I can. And the most awful thing is, I still cannot work out whether he 'deserved' it or not. But that's one of the problems with bullying - no one can predict the consequences and no one can be sure what was right, or even exactly what happened. We've lived silently with this unknown since then.

It happened again though. Six years after this, I was in Police basic training. I'd endured ten weeks of bullying by the instructors, based on my 'BBC accent'. For them, 'real' Yorkshiremen, I just spoke 'too posh' to be a proper officer and they tore into me at every opportunity. I thought I was in control, but late one night, the worst of the two was walking back from the mess. I was on security patrol. It was a pitch November night, wet and cold. I melted into the darkness by the bins and my gloved hand closed on a glass bottle. For one moment I fantasized smashing that bottle into his smug, jeering face… I am glad I didn't; but I was stunned for a time to realize again that I was capable of such a response. Do bullies have the faintest idea what they are risking? I was being inculcated with the idea that it was a dirty dark world out there and I'd better get 'them' before they got me. Being a bully was recommended. Welcome to 1977 police training. It nearly worked.

3. Bullying - Interpretation and Technicalities

I'm not sure whether my response to perceived bullying was typical or not. We hear most often of the victims who take one of the two polarity responses to dominance: that is, they resist, usually by attacking their bully-tormentor, often with serious or fatal consequences, or they fall into total withdrawal by suicide. 'Resistance' is most often luridly reported as the 'husband-killing wife,' who transpires to be the victim of a life, or death, of a thousand cuts; someone who has been abused for years and who snaps over a final insult. I can relate to that. The withdrawal response was most recently highlighted in the news by the tragic deaths of Fiona and Francesca Pilkington, immolated due to repeated low-level bullying over years. But whether the result of bullying dominance is to attack, to acquiesce with the oppressor by self-abnegation or to self-destroy, the outcome is violent, a denial of individual human rights and dignity that is harmful to wider society. Yet 'society' acknowledges bullying with such ambivalence and confusion it is hard to see how it can ever change. It is railed against, but it is systemic.

Although systemic, the question remains for the individual; to what extent are we willing to look into our own lives to see how we all perpetuate the behaviours that underpin the phenomenon of bullying? Will we look at how we all, with few exceptions, need to own and control that demon aspect of the human psyche, which seeks to dominate, control and use others at all levels? For that demon is fed by the ontological anxiety of existence itself. It is subtle, complex and all pervasive, as expressed by Johnston:

> We know that the demon of anxiety is one of the most insidious monsters in the modern psyche. Apart from conscious anxiety about yesterday and tomorrow, there is that unconscious anxiety, which can become compulsive, driving people to alcohol, to drugs, to inordinate sex, to compulsive craving for power and even to self-destruction. It can drive people to exploit others, not from hatred, but from a desire to prove themselves and allay their inner fears.[1]

I contend only Johnston's reference to the 'modern' psyche; anxiety and its concomitant tendency towards bullying behaviour is recorded throughout human history - and it appears in aspects of modern systems theory. For instance, Beerel observes that:

> Change threatens survival and hence systems [people] resist. This resistance can take many forms. Often, fear and insecurity within the system provides the seedbed for unethical behaviour. Calm, well-balanced systems usually experience less insecurity and fear and thus are less likely to develop a culture that

> encourages misconduct. Misconduct is invariably a sign of distress.[2]

It is clear that bullying can be seen as an aspect of 'misconduct,' but can and should we conclude that bullying is a sign of distress? It is the usual outcome of it for sure, but is it 'a sign'? It is certainly an indictor of systemic stress; Beerel expounds this theme in the context of work systems:

> Systems import all kinds of elements from the other systems of which they are part. For example if the larger system is feeling insecure and experiencing fear, the sub-systems will import these emotions into their environments and they will be insecure and fearful too… If the company as a whole behaves as a corporate bully, its divisions and departments will also mirror this kind of behavior.[3]

Johnston and Beerel are relating in different ways to destructive, exploitative behaviours that are inevitable in the context of the systems we belong to and our individual, group and corporate natural responses to the anxiety of life circumstances. They imply that our internal perceptions of self, risk, insecurity and danger in the environment lead to 'misconduct' and potentially to bullying. We are distressed and we leak our distress onto others, seeking control over them to falsely assure ourselves that we are in control of something.

Psychological theories seek to explain the root drives for bullying behaviour. However, understanding the genesis of a phenomenon does not lead automatically to its recognition and to dealing with it in the world. We frequently find examples of bullying behaviour that has not been perceived as such by the perpetrators and yet has had devastating effects upon others subjected to it. Similarly, it is entirely possible for bullying, oppressive behaviour to be intended and yet not received as such. Blatant or subtle, intended or incidental, bullying covers a wide spectrum of behaviours and responses.

4. Oppression and Prejudice - Introducing Allport

The intention of the above reflections is to illustrate the widespread occurrence of bullying behaviours in society. So far we have referred to the outcomes of such behaviour as principally affecting the dignity of individuals and the quality of environments. But at what point might we conclude that such behaviour constitutes 'oppression'? Does the repetition of bullying, the extent of it, its effects or some other determining aspect indicate oppression?

If we take a dictionary definition,[4] oppression is: the exercise of authority or power in a burdensome, cruel, or unjust manner; the state of being oppressed; the feeling of being heavily burdened, mentally or physically, by troubles, adverse

conditions, anxiety, etc. This definition is expanded elsewhere to incorporate the concept of an inequality of bargaining power, resulting in one party's lack of ability to negotiate or exercise meaningful choice - a crucial aspect and consequence of bullying behaviours.

Does bullying always involve an abuse of power, per se? Well, since we observe that to bully another individual or group implies a power differential in order to have any effect, the answer to that must be 'yes' - the abuse of power is axiomatic. Of course, the legitimate exercise of power to persuade will always be a matter of perception and position - thus coercive action intended to be benevolent may be perceived as hostile and unwelcome - and thus may be judged a bullying tactic by those subjected to it, whilst being strongly defended by its perpetrators.

So bullying is potentially a feature of an individual's behavioural pattern and it may be a characteristic of groups. The outcome of such bullying behaviour is likely to be oppression, which is, by definition, being held in a state of dominance. And as we might see inferred in the opening illustrative stories, dominance may lead to one of three principal responses: withdrawal, acquiescence or resistance. Such responses will affect relationships at personal, group and societal levels, making the interworking concepts of bullying, dominance and oppression key issues for all to understand and to work on if we ever hope to cope, function, cooperate, build and eventually find peace together.

Of the many strands of bullying that may be pursued, I will now focus upon one of the issues that I feel has become attenuated over time; the work of Gordon Allport in 1954 in investigating the nature of inter-group prejudice and the roots of discrimination. Following the Second World War, Allport was tasked to investigate how it was that a relatively small group of Nazi party activists could mobilize millions to engage in behaviour that led to the horror that became the Holocaust. What Allport found was that it started with words. Millions died then and still perish now, because of words. It is this relatively simple conclusion that I found to be so meaningful when I investigated the nature of bullying, harassment and discrimination as a police trainer in the late 1980s.

Allport (1979:14) described his scale of prejudice and discrimination as the progression from antilocution, to avoidance, to discrimination, to physical attack and ultimately to extermination.

So, according to Allport, the first observable indication of prejudice was what he called 'antilocution,' or literally 'speaking against'. He expressed the notion that people with prejudices talk about them. First, to family and friends, perhaps to engender in-group identity and develop a sense of security through sharing: knowing that you are amongst like-minded people may reduce anxiety. In-group identification does not necessarily lead to negativity toward out-groups, but it's a risk factor.[5] The words might span expressions of mild disapproval of 'the others' through to quite vitriolic condemnation; but it will be limited at this level to verbal expression. The first key point here is that it is very widespread, common

behaviour and in many cases, if questioned at all, could be justified as 'healthy free expression'. The second key point though is that, unquestioned, antilocution supports the next level in the scale - that of avoidance.

Avoidance is the behaviour in which people, who express, agree or collude with antilocutory expressions, begin to avoid contact with members of the out-group that draws their attention, whatever the basis. Allport went to lengths to point out that fewer people engage in the escalating behaviours at each stage, but nevertheless each previous 'stage' supports those who engage in the following levels and will also be present in that escalated level.

Discrimination, in this scale, represents the level in which individuals and groups become subjected to disadvantaging action, purely on the basis of their membership or supposed membership of an 'out' group that is reviled by the holder of sufficient power to impose sanctions against them. The power may stem from physical, political or financial superiority or any other category that enables action to be effective and detrimental. The process may be seen to be incremental in its capacity to dehumanise and possibly to demonise the out-group. Discrimination may cover a scale that encompasses mild physical restraint or segregation to a wholesale denial of human rights.

If discrimination becomes widely accepted and the dehumanisation process established, together with escalating negative verbal and written rhetoric, anger and frustration regarding the out-group, then physical attack is often the next step in the process: from physical attack, sustained action may result in 'extermination,' being the destruction by murder of an individual or genocidal action towards a whole people group. Bear in mind that we are not just speaking of race and ethnicity in these terms. We may be speaking of gender - women are murdered simply for being female every single day around the globe; sexuality - homosexual people are similarly murdered for being themselves; disability - people who are perceived to be 'defective' are routinely murdered through both deliberate action and culpable omission and people are attacked - and disappear - for expressing political views contrary to those of the ruling administration.

Allport gives us the clearest and most powerful summary to the case for progressive linkage between the levels in his scale of discrimination: "It is apparent, therefore, that under certain circumstances there will be stepwise progression from verbal aggression to violence, from rumour to riot, from gossip to genocide".[6]

5. Concluding Remarks - Turning to Bourdieu

Although the detail would be beyond the remit of this paper, I also see much value in relating Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic violence'[7] to this discussion. This is a theory of action around the concept of habitus,[8] which can be defined as a system of 'dispositions,' which are lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought and action that might easily include routine bullying, harassment and the

abuse of power. Bourdieu postulated that individual agents develop these dispositions in response to their interpretation of the conditions they encounter. In this way Bourdieu theorizes that people can construct objective social structures around their naturally subjective, mental experiences. They will go on to form fundamental, deep-founded, un-thought beliefs that will inform their actions and thoughts. Thus, symbolic violence can be construed as potentially even more powerful than physical violence and represents a way for those for whom bullying is their being, to amplify their malign influence. Symbolic violence ensures that the arbitrariness of the social order is ignored, or even deemed 'natural,' ensuring the legitimacy of extant social structures, making oppression indeed the bitter fruit of the tree that is grown, root and branch, from bullying seed.

Notes

[1] W Johnston, *The Mystical Way*, Harper Collins, London, 1993, p. 263.
[2] A Beerel, 'Ethics Begins at the Top: What this Really Means - My Brand of Ethics', Hellenic Communication Service LLC 2000 [Internet], Accessed 28th September 2009, http://www.helleniccomserve.com/beerelpapernov06. html.
[3] A Beerel, op. cit..
[4] 'Oppression' [Internet], Accessed 2nd October 2009, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/oppression.
[5] MB Brewer, 'The Psychology of Prejudice: Ingroup Love or Outgroup Hate?', *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 55(3), 1999, p. 15.
[6] G Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice, Unabridged, 25th Anniversary Edition*, Basic Books, New York, 1979, p. 57.
[7] 'Bourdieu, Pierre (1930–2002)'. *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*. 2007. SAGE Publications [Internet], Accessed 8th October 2009, http://sage-ereference.com/activism/Article_n135.html.
[8] 'Habitus'. *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. 2004. SAGE Publications [Internet], Accessed 8th October 2009, http://sage-ereference.com/socialtheory/Article_n132.html.

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Part 2:

Bystanders in Bullying

Sin of Omission: The Behaviour of Bystanders from a Game Theoretical Perspective

Agata Komendant-Brodowska

Abstract
The aim of this paper is to analyse the behaviour of bystanders to school violence from a game theoretical perspective. To analyse how different situational and group-related factors influence the reaction of bystanders, it uses models from the scope of Rational Choice Theory. The paper presents a 'critical mass' model described by public good theorists and based on a specific collective action game. Four major types of bullies are analysed: a 'beginner bully,' an 'unstable bully,' a 'robust bully' and an 'average bully'. Theoretical analysis shows how group composition factors, such as heterogeneity of interests and resources, can influence the probability of reaction and the scope of reaction.

Key Words: Bullying, bystander, game theory, public good.

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1. Bystanders and Public Good

> One of the most critical, least acknowledged contributors to evil goes beyond the protagonists of harm to the silent chorus who look but do not see, who hear but do not listen.[1]

There are many reasons why one may not react when one witnesses aggression: fear of the perpetrator, curiosity about what will happen next, lack of skills in reacting to such situations, or reluctance to stand out from a crowd of other bystanders. Meanwhile, there is one primary reason why one should react: moral standards. But is this sufficient? It seems that in spite of this moral imperative, the social situation in which bystanders to aggression find themselves can prevent them from acting.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the behaviour of bystanders to school violence from a game theoretical perspective. In order to analyse how different situational and group-related factors influence the reaction of bystanders, it uses models from the scope of Rational Choice Theory (RCT). It treats the decision-making process of bystanders as rational; observers take into account both the possible gains and costs of their decision and the presence of other observers making a similar decision to themselves. As underlined by other researchers,[2] the paper argues that in order to explain a social phenomenon it is crucial to understand the decisions of individuals who are engaged in a specific social situation.

According to research, the goal of bullies is not only to control victims but also to have power over the whole group, and it seems they are achieving this goal.[3] School violence bystanders rarely intervene, sometimes join in with the bully and, in the majority of instances, do nothing. In this analysis, it is considered that bystanders have a choice of two behaviours: 1) ignoring the act of violence, or 2) defending the victim. The group of bully's supporters are deliberately excluded from the analysis – they are treated the same way as the bully. The subject of this paper is the dynamics between those who ignore the act of violence (outsiders), and those who defend the victim (defenders). All pupils who do not play an active part in the act of bullying are potential defenders, and a bystander's inaction is treated as a conscious omission in front of another person's suffering.

The goal of this paper is to show the complexity of decisions bystanders make. If bystanders were simply indifferent and lacked moral values, these decisions would not be complex. On the contrary, studies show that the majority of students have a negative attitude towards bullying, finding it wrong and inappropriate. Even if these figures are somewhat politically correct declarations, we can assume that rejection of bullying is common. The hypothesis, therefore, is that it is not only individual attitudes that influence the behaviour of bullies' and victims' classmates but other, possibly more group-related factors. I assume pupils have a pro-social attitude in order to look for a social source of this 'sin of omission'. In the critical mass model described below, a bystander considers the possible gains and losses of their decision to defend a victim by assessing the chance to overthrow the bully.

2. The Critical Mass Model

The critical mass[4] model is based on a public good game described by Oliver, Marwell and Teixeira and concerns the decision of bystanders. I assume that overthrowing a bully and the bully's accomplices, and overcoming the atmosphere of terror in the classroom that they cause, is a good that is valued by all students (except the bullies themselves). It is a public good because it is not diminished by its repeated use and it is non-excludable. No matter how many people use this kind of good, still more people can benefit from it.

In the model I also assume that the pupils have the necessary knowledge and skills or, in other words, they know what to do to defeat the bully or gang of bullies. Every pupil has some resources to use in the struggle. Depending on the type of aggression used by the perpetrators, these resources can be social skills or physical strength or fitness. Students can engage in a fight in a more or less exhausting manner and they do not have to throw all their resources into the game at once. In the model, I analyse only the group of bystanders that can be called possible defenders, that is, those who have not joined in with the bullying. In order to illustrate the main idea of the model, it is useful to think about two extreme examples.

First consider the weakest boy in the class observing a bunch of the strongest boys in the class taunting and punching their classmate, a little girl. Next consider a popular schoolgirl who has just spotted some of girls from her class harassing a helpless classmate by throwing her glasses so that she cannot catch them. In the first case, the bystander has very few resources in comparison with the bullies, who have formed a cohesive group. The individual action of the bystander schoolboy is unlikely to result in success. Meanwhile in the latter case, the bystander schoolgirl could more easily stop the taunting by, for example, giving her classmates a look of disapproval or smirking as she is popular and knows how to 'play the game'. Her individual intervention could stop the whole process and invite other classmates to join in helping the victim.

Several factors influence the behaviour of bystanders: the power of the bully/bullies, the power of the bystander, and the bystander's perception of how effective their action would be. The more powerful the bully, the more resources a group needs to overthrow that bully and to create public good, such as a positive atmosphere in class. In the model, the power of bullies is given the symbol R. This stands for the amount of resources that one has to gather to defeat a bully, which is also where the name of the model comes from (the critical mass of resources). So, R stands for the minimum amount of resources in general (not simply the number of students). If a bystander decides to engage their resources to overthrow a bully, that bystander bears the cost (r_i) of such a decision in the amount of resources engaged to create public good. For example, if the bystander decides not to intervene, they could instead spend their time and use their wit in, say, pleasant conversation with friends. From this perspective, R means the overall cost that the class has to bear in order to defeat the perpetrators and end the process of bullying.

However, pupils are diverse, not only in terms of resources but also in terms of how much they value the public good. The parameter V stands for how much they value a bullying-free, peaceful atmosphere in class. Heterogeneity of the class for the V parameter can be interpreted here both as sensitivity for the atmosphere of terror (the higher the sensitivity, the higher the value of peace, represented by a higher V value), and for the level of friendliness towards the victim (the more one likes the victim, the more one values the defeat of the bully).

In order to fulfil the assumption that the bully's defeat is in the public good, I assume that the sum of individual v_i parameters is higher than R. So, the critical mass model refers to a group of bystanders (N) for whom the sum of individual values of V (sum of values given by the onlookers to the perpetrator's defeat) is higher than the overall cost of overthrowing the bully. All observers consider the probability of the success of the intervention, depending on the amount of resources (R) they engage during an action against the oppressor. This probability is described as a function of resources, or $P(r)$. If only one observer possessed these r_i resources, their decision would be made on the basis of a comparison

between the expected usefulness of action (with a status quo for which I assume $U(0) = 0$):

$$U(r) = VP(r) - r$$

For a single observer the expected utility is maximised for[5]:

$$P'(r) = \frac{1}{V}$$

In the figures below, the slope of the function represents how sensitive the bully is regarding a bystander's intervention in certain phases of the defending action; the steeper the slope, the more impact the bystander has on the bully. So, different shapes of production functions represent different types of public good.

Figure 1: Step Function

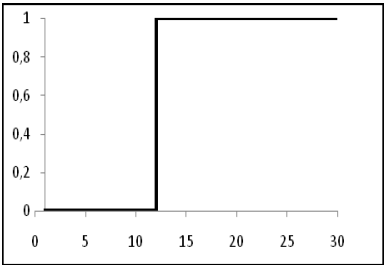
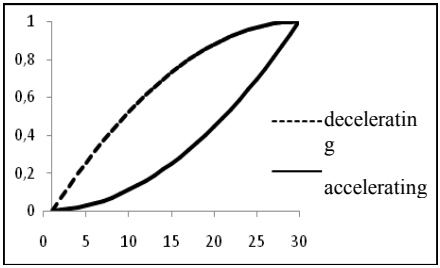


Figure 2: Accelerating and Decelerating Functions



P(r) is a function describing the probability of success depending on the amount of resources spent on defending a victim. It describes how probable it is that a public good will be created depending on how many resources are spent by the bystanders.

The more pupils engage themselves in an action of defending a victim, and the more powerful the students defending him or her are, the higher the chances that the tormenting will stop. Three types of production curves are presented in figures 1 and 2. Figure 1 represents a step function, while Figure 2 shows a decelerating curve (dotted line) and an accelerating (solid line) curve. They stand for three different types of situations that bystanders may come across.

3. The Beginner Bully

First, bystanders may come across a situation depicted by a step production function, where there exists a critical mass of resources that, if exceeded, guarantees the success of the intervention. Any further contributions are unnecessary. The only case that could be described by a step function is one of a

beginner bully who withdraws from aggressive behaviour whenever he/she receives any negative feedback; it takes only one person to stop the attack. It could be someone who has just started considering bullying as a means to achieve higher social status or to get into a prestigious social clique but who is unsure if it is a good idea.

4. A Decelerating Function - The Unstable Bully

When production function is decelerating, the first contributions have the biggest impact on public good but further contributions make little difference. So in this case, as with the previous type, the first contributions matter the most. The probability that bullies will react rises most rapidly when those first resources are engaged and the bystanders join in defending the victim until they reach a point where:

$$P'(r) = \frac{1}{V}$$

After this point, bystanders will no longer contribute as the level of chances for gaining public has changed - it is lower than the resources contributed. So, a couple of bystanders will bear the cost of defending the victim (r) and everyone will be happy with the resulting public good (or rather, the high chance of gaining this good). The more the observers value the public good, or the more they like the victim, the 'further' they will reach on the decelerating curve. This means bystanders will reach a point where the curve is more flat, so the higher the value of V, the later the point will come where it no longer pays to react anymore. When the bully is perceived as unstable, there are no chances for full mobilisation. There will always come a point where some people will feel their reaction does not make a difference.

In the case of an unstable bully, heterogeneity of the group is an important factor. It has been shown that there is an interesting order effect for such public good. The best situation for a victim would be if those who are the least interested (i.e.: those who like the victim the least) intervened first. But in reality we would expect quite the opposite: that the most interested people will begin the intervention. Therefore, the early reaction of those who like the victim the most, paradoxically, reduce the chances of the bully being defeated.

5. An Accelerating Curve - The Robust Bully

Let us return to the story about the weak boy who thinks he should do something to defend his classmate from the bunch of stronger boys. The weak boy knows that it is necessary to form a group of defenders in order to significantly improve the intervention's chances of success. An accelerating curve depicts this

kind of problem - the marginal impact of contribution is rising. High start-up costs are characteristic for accelerative public good.

In this instance, the first resources spent on attempting to defend the victim hardly have an impact. The more people gather round and ridicule the bully or pull the bully away from the victim, the more impact they have on the perpetrator's behaviour. In other words, the more bystanders join in, the more another bystander counts. The bully thinks along the lines of: 'One smirk is just the mistake of another loser; a smirk and a giggle from some of the girls suggest I may have done something wrong; three people ridiculing me is a warning' etc. This process is like an avalanche - the only problem is whether it starts running fast enough to get to the point where it is gaining speed. As Oliver puts it:

> If, somehow, the initial contributions get made, later contributions can become profitable and collective action will tend to snowball, drawing in more and more people until the maximum is reached.[6]

For this reason, this function depicts a robust bully who is only willing to retreat if many bystanders intervene. In the case of the robust bully, the potential contributors with the highest resources are privileged. For example, if an individual has very high resources, they may be able to overcome the problem of the high start-up cost. If an individual's resources are very high, the relation of influence to costs may actually be satisfying for that individual. This situation is depicted in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Accelerating Function and the Effect of Differences in Resources

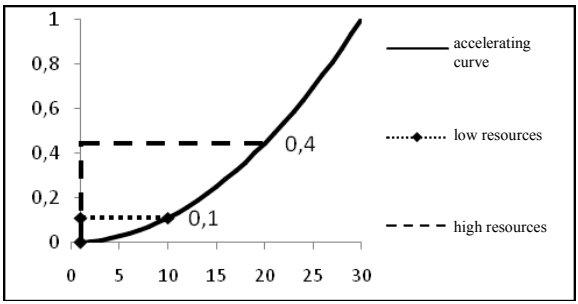


Figure 3 suggests that:

> while a person with only $r_i = 10$ resources has a 10% chance of fighting a bully, a person with twice as many resources $r_i = 20$ can increase those odds to 40%. In other words, it pays to be more powerful.

Fortunately, there is another way of overcoming the difficulty associated with making the initial steps in defending a victim - collaboration. If a couple of witnesses with low resources gather round and compose a group, they can be treated as a unit with higher resources. This way, in the example from Figure 3, a pair of onlookers with resources $r_i = 10$, could agree to act together simultaneously and increase the probability of success to the equivalent of 40%. Students often work in teams, groups and circles of friends so, if they know their friends' thoughts on bullying, this kind of teamwork should not be difficult to perform. Therefore, the knowledge of one another's attitudes towards bullies and their victims is central to overcoming the difficulty of making the first step.

6. A General Third-Order Curve - The Average Bully

A typical bully's behaviour can be depicted by a general third-order or 'S'-shaped curve. In this case, first contributions do not have a big impact on the bully's behaviour. A couple of smirks or other non-verbal signals of criticism are insufficient to discourage the bully; more efforts must be made to make the bully fully notice the bystander's negative reaction. For example, a group of onlookers or a person in a powerful position are needed to react to the perpetrator's actions, so that every further contribution makes a bigger difference, and more and more bystanders join in defending the victim. Even in such instances, however, there comes a point where it is not beneficial for those bystanders who have yet intervened to do so. This would be when the difference they expect to cause by intervening is smaller than the resources they have to use. There are two major problems for bystanders who are faced with a bully whose responses resemble the 'S-shaped' curve. Firstly, the start-up costs for bystanders are as high and problematic as in the accelerating case described above. Secondly, as with the decelerating curve model, there is only a small chance of full mobilisation of bystanders. Bystanders face two major problems: difficulties in the beginning, which are also typical when facing a robust bully; and the likelihood of the premature expiration of support towards the end, which is also typical when facing an unsettled bully.

7. Summary

In this paper I have analysed the behaviour of bystanders to school violence from a game theoretical perspective. In order to show the complexity of decisions made by witnesses of bullying, I used a public good game model. The results of the analyses show that heterogeneity of the bystanding group, in terms of their interpersonal skills and strength and their attitude towards bullying, can have a major impact on the prospects of bystanders intervening to defend the victim. Also, I have indicated that different types of perpetrators create different problems for bystanders in terms of beginning collective action against the bully. Knowledge of these diverse difficulties, and of possible ways to overcome them, is essential if we are to construct bullying prevention and intervention programmes and understand how they affect the reactions of bystanders to school violence.

Notes

[1] P Zimbardo, *The Lucifer Effect*: *Understanding How Good People Turn Evil*, Random House, New York, 2007, p. 314.
[2] D Olweus, *Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 43-45.
[3] C Salmivalli & M Voeten, 'Connections between Attitudes, Group Norms and Behaviour in Bullying Situations', *International Journal of Behavioural Development,* Vol. 28, 2004, pp. 246-258.
[4] PE Oliver, G Marwell & R Teixeira, 'A Theory of the Critical Mass I. Interdependence, Group Heterogeneity and the Production of Collective Action', *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 91, 1985, pp. 522-556. The name of the critical mass model refers to an analogy with the smallest amount of fissile material needed for a nuclear chain reaction. In the field of social sciences, the term was used by Schelling in his book *Micromotives and Macrobehaviour*.
[5] The model used in this paper is a slightly modified version of the one presented by Oliver, Marwell and Teixeira. For the sake of simplicity, the mathematical aspects of the model are omitted here.
[6] Ibid., p. 535.

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Cyber-Bullying: Exploring the Audience

Sue Robinson & Suky Macpherson

'...For every day they die
Among us, those who are doing us some good.'
i.m Antonia Bruch 1991-2009

Abstract
Bullying is often portrayed as an exchange between bully and bullied. More recently, professionals have proposed a 'whole-school approach' as a way of addressing this. This paper extends this to the notion of 'the whole context,' in which the audience for bullying and the range of its behaviours becomes critical to our understanding and intervention. For the purposes of the conference we will explore this approach with professionals through the lens of cyber-bullying, in which digital communications and media become the forum for bullying, notably among adolescents. Cyber-bullying is constructed as an acute form of bullying, because of the potential of participants, the extension of the locus of bullying, and the invisibility of the audience. This paper represents our current thinking on a set of emerging hypotheses, which we hoped to explore further through our workshop.

Key Words: Authority, children, culture, cyber-bullying, whole-context approach.

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1. Introduction

Understandings of bullying and its associated systems have not developed as quickly as understandings of other group behaviours. Too often, in both work and educational environments, bullying remains positioned as an exchange between bullied and bully, with 'authority' sometimes, though not always, hovering nearby, leading to simplistic rhetoric (especially in schools) about 'zero tolerance of bullying,' which does little to address underlying group behaviours and associated social dynamics.

Our work builds on the work by Salmvalli and Sullivan, Cleary and by Sullivan, and seeks to centre more complex understandings of bullying, by positioning bullying within the whole context.[1] So far, however, it remains unusual to find such frameworks used or understood in school environments. Building on Sullivan, Cleary and Sullivan's whole-school approach, we propose a model of bullying that constitutes a system between bullies, the bullied, the audience (which provides the context for bullying) and which may include authorities.[2]

Even this model may be incomplete; not all measures of audience are equal. They have different perspectives; they adopt positions of greater or lesser engagement, and exhibit different degrees of approval. However, they choose

generally to remain in the audience. We wished therefore, in preparing this workshop, to use the opportunity of the conference to explore some of these concepts more deeply with professional specialists.

Within our work, both of us have begun to confront the relatively recent phenomenon of cyber-bullying, or the use of technology as a bullying tool, where threatening and abusive messages are sent via social networking sites such as Facebook or MySpace. Cyber-bullying also includes aggressive, threatenting, unpleasant text messages sent to an individual. Research carried out by the Anti-Bullying Alliance and documented by Smith and colleagues states that 22% of UK children and young people claim to have been the targets of cyber-bullying.[3] News reports of suicides or attempted suicides are also becoming more common in the UK and the USA.

2. The Whole-Context Approach

Although in no way comparable, a metaphor for the whole context of bullying is evoked implicitly in a poem attributed to Martin Niemöller, represented here only by an extract:

> *...Als sie die Gewerkschafter holten,*
> *habe ich nicht protestiert;*
> *ich war ja kein Gewerkschafter...*
> *Als sie mich holten,*
> *gab es keinen mehr, der protestieren konnte.*
> (...Then they came for the trade unionists,
> I did not protest;
> I was not a trade unionist...
> When they came for me,
> there was no one left to speak out for me.) [4]

The hypothesis of this paper is that the audience for bullying is made up of different types of participant: sidekicks, cheerleaders and the apparently uninvolved. When considering cyber-bullying, the roles of the audience are often played out at one remove, seemingly invisibly. From our discussions we have extended the whole-context approach to think more specifically about the nature of the audience for bullying, and we identify four main types of 'audience'. Some of these people are passive watchers, while others can be active participants, but each plays their own part.

A. The Sidekick

The sidekick enjoys the bullying and encourages and exacerbates it from the sidelines. Sometimes they can get in trouble, but usually they encourage and enjoy

the experience. Their support and involvement sustains the bullying and enhances the self-esteem of the bully.

B. The Satisfied Watcher

This person does not actively participate in bullying. They look on at the actions of the bully, reading posts, perhaps laughing and enjoying the experience, but they continue to do nothing. The watcher is a silent presence, an invisible strength. They may share the experience and tell their friends.

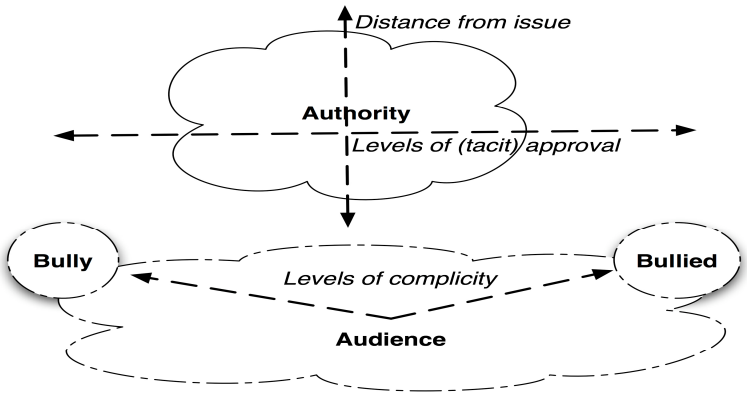
C. The Immobilised

Often, this person is perplexed and worried about what is happening but feels immobilised to stand up against the bully and sidekick(s). They may talk to others in the community/school/bullying environment but often do not know how to act in response. It is easier for them to find reasons why they should do nothing. Sometimes, this is a way of not wanting to think about bullying they have suffered. This person may be fearful of the repercussions for themselves and see all too clearly how being a snitch can be dangerous.

D. The Active Critic

Members of this group are likely to intervene to stop being bystanders and take action. They move in to stop the bullying, contacting relevant authorities to alert them that cyber-bullying is taking place. They have feelings of shock, sadness or disgust, which provoke them to action. They might do this anonymously, but they may also actively seek out the target of the bullying and support them online or in person.

Figure 1



Source: Sue Robinson

The audience plays itself out between the bullied and the bully under the aegis of an authority or authorities who will have a tacit view of the degree of acceptability of bullying and a greater or lesser distance from its incidence (see figure below).

It seems likely that the balance between different types of members of the 'audience' is a function of organisational culture and of social expectations and can therefore be influenced by intervention. Indeed, it seems plausible that such intervention may have longer lasting effects than direct approaches or sanctions for the bully and/or their sidekicks. However at this stage, this hypothesis needs further research.

3. Understanding the System as a Method

The purpose of understanding the landscape of bullying is to re-evaluate and review strategies to overcome bullying. Sullivan, Cleary and Sullivan have developed what they call 'a whole-school approach' and ensure that all strategies in the secondary schools they describe have support from the head teacher and senior staff.[5] Groups of children are asked to volunteer, and some are encouraged to participate in training programmes where scenarios and role plays are used to assist pupils in thinking about the school atmosphere and then to change enviroments where bullying has existed.

Tehrani has documented case-study examples in the post office, education, fire, and health services, where research and training has been given to provide informal support to staff.[6] This helps to build a culture of support and respect. Similarly peer mediation in schools and internal mediators in the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK have influenced the working environment to construct cultures where bullying is less permissable and is consequently minimised. The involvement of and commitment from senior managers has been shown to be essential. We hope to hear from participants about their experience and ideas. Developing constructive, rather than critical, thinking about cyber-bullying should help strategies to evolve to overcome it.

4. Extending the Context Outwards

Cyber-bullying represents a concentrated case in which all the aspects of bullying are heightened. It is sometimes said that technology has extended working environments in both time and space, and this is also true of social environments. It is difficult, in a world where (in affluent rich nations) the digitally networked world has become the norm, to construct and maintain barriers and boundaries. In the context of the adolescent, the cyber-world is a world in which there can seem to be nowhere to hide. The school playground is in your pocket wherever you go. 'Always on' can translate very quickly to 'always on the receiving end'.

Cyber-bullying is insidious because it can involve large numbers of people. On a popular social networking site, many people have hundreds of 'friends' on their

page, all reading what is written on their 'wall'. This means that hundreds of people can be party to everything that is written on the victim's wall, thus inflating the sense of shame and ridicule. It also heightens the target's sense of loss of control, as they largely have little idea who is watching or who knows about the humiliation. This makes cyber-bullying very different from face-to-face abuse, where the aggressor, accomplices and watchers can be seen. In cyber-bullying, bystanders can be invisible, although not, of course, to the owners or managers of the site on which the cyber-bullying occurs. This can add layers to the discomfort experienced: not all enemies are identifiable, so they could be anyone, or anywhere.

Cyber-bullying, therefore, is a particularly accute form of bullying that intensifies the experience of being bullied, by making it more pervasive, more visible and more anonymous, while also increasing vastly the size of the audience. This creates an urgency in finding ways to improve our understanding of the dynamics of bullying. The Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel observed that, 'Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented' and this becomes more acutely true in the digitally enabled world.[7]

5. The Focus of our Workshop

Our ambition was to make our workshop as participatory as possible. Delegates were divided into four groups, and each group was asked to try to put itself into the minds of a different type of bystander. They were then shown a fictional page in the style of a well-known social networking site. The fictional owner of the page had received bullying, threatening and intimidating comments. Much of the workshop was taken up with small group discussions, which were brought back to a final plenary discussion. Participants were asked to choose some postcards (from a wide selection) that reflected their conversations. These were displayed and used as a basis for the concluding dialogue.

The 'sidekicks' chose cards such as one with children dancing in a circle, which for them represented the importance of safety in group affiliation. Another postcard from the sidekick group depicted the erotic elements of the experience in the choice of a Renaissance painting. One of the 'satisfied watchers' chose a cat looking longingly into a goldfish bowl, which conveyed the cruelty and sadism that can exist in voyeurism. The 'immobilised' group chose postcards with a serene face, a hay cart and penguins. These scenes evoked for them the sense of being still, huddled together and their inability to act. Finally, the 'active critics' chose cards such as masked actors and sheep. Their comments about these images highlighted the invisible nature of the group and its herd-like mentality, which was hard to overcome without independence of thought and action.

6. Conclusion

The bystander model survived this first scrutiny in that it worked in practice as a framework for the group attending the workshop. We learned how coded these forms of abuse were for people unfamiliar with the layout, syntax and social practice of social networking sites. The final comments in the workshop unveiled some vexing questions about the hard judgments required in evaluating cyber-friendships and how to escape from these contacts when things go wrong.

When it came to exploring the audience for cyber-bullying, a paradox emerged. It was agreed that bullying, intimidation and threats could not be escaped just by deletion of the digital space in which the acts occurred or simply by declining involvement in a particular social networking, because the bullying and ostracism could still be sustained, and the audience created, in the absence of the person who is the target.

Another development in our thinking was in terms of authority and bystanders. In terms of cyber-bullying, list moderators hold power and authority because they can refuse to accept inappropriate or threatening posts and banish offenders from the online space. Often, however, they do nothing and ignore the bullying, which can lead even the most active critics to have insufficient trust in the system of authority to try to protect the target. If bystanders are to be empowered to act, they need to feel that authorities are responding positively and actively, that the authorities share the concerns of the bystanders about bullying. Without this, they will retreat; the centre of gravity of the audience will move towards the bully.

If bullying has an audience, it seems inevitable that successful intervention will need to involve that audience. As the American social media researcher danah boyd has suggested:

> What we need are the digital equivalent of street outreach workers ... Rather than focusing on the few incidents of disturbed adults reaching out to children, let's build systems that will enable trained adults to reach out to the many disturbed children who are crying out for help through online systems.[8]

This workshop was only an initial exploration of these issues, and there were limits in our characterisations of bystanders. We were grateful to delegates for taking risks in developing understanding and compassion for bystanders, and also for helping us to configure ways in which this might constitute a significant step towards developing in a constructive, rather than critical, strategy for overcoming bullying, and towards building cyber-environments where cultures of respect rather than intimidation prevail.

Notes

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Suky Macpherson is a counselling psychologist working with adolescents for West London Mental Health Trust in the UK and with adults and young people in private practice. She has developed an interest in cyber-bullying and is particularly intrigued by the wider role played by social networking sites in the creation and destruction of self-esteem.

Part 3:

Bullying in Educational Contexts

The (Bad) Example of the University

Kristof K.P. Vanhoutte

Abstract
The moment bullying becomes a topic of academic discourse, the first question that should be asked regards the relationship of the university with bullying. What is, in fact, the possible relationship between the academy and the theme of bullying? It seems fairly easy to note that the academy can become, just like any other regular space where people are gathered in groups, a place where bullying occurs. But whereas this form of bullying can be considered external to the university, one should not refrain from asking a more demanding question: Is the university not also an institute that can, and has, created bullying? Is the university as an institution, due to its highly competitive and structured division, not a perfect environment for bullying? In this paper, I will confront this second form of university bullying. This form of bullying can take on several different characteristics but the main concern of this paper is a form of 'internal' bullying that I call 'structural bullying'. In fact, I will confront the clashes between the different sciences present in the university and try to demonstrate that they are interwoven with attitudes and actions that can easily be called 'bullying'. In trying to demonstrate this, I will start by confronting this claim from a historical point of view, after which I will confront the current situation at our universities.

Key Words: Faculties, funding, Kant, Middle Ages, Snow, reforms, sciences, university.

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> Why do you notice the splinter in your brother's eye, but do not perceive the wooden beam in your own? *Luke* 6:41

1. Introduction

Looking at the etymology of the word 'bully' one is immediately confronted with the truth of what bullying is. 'Bully' derives from the Dutch word '*boel*' or '*boele*', meaning lover or brother. The word, however, took not even a full century to take on a rather negative meaning. Soon it came to mean (respectively) 'protector of prostitutes' or 'harasser of the weak'. So even though the word used to have a positive meaning, it soon turned into something very negative.[1] Somebody who was supposed to protect turned into somebody who took advantage of his or her position.

So bullying is about taking advantage of one's position, an abuse of one's power. If this is a basic aspect of bullying, which I believe it is, then I think that

having a look at the university as an institution could prove to be useful, and maybe, in a certain sense, even 'healing'.

In what follows, I will, however, not talk about the university as a public space where bullying can take place. I do not want to focus on student behaviour. What I propose is to investigate if, and in what way, the university is constructed in a way that allows it to be an institute that has the peril of bullying in its proper DNA; that is, a structural pre-imposition of institutional 'openness' towards bullying. I will first consider some historical aspects, after which I will turn to the current situation in the contemporary university institution.

2. Starting Rather Badly

It would probably not be particularly wrong to say that the university as an institution was not born under a good constellation when confronted with the theme of bullying. Looking at the beginning of the university as an institution, that is, the medieval institution, we can see from the start that some sort of bullying was present and this from its very own *formation*. Contrary to our contemporary universities, where we can find more than a dozen diverse faculties, departments and schools, the medieval university consisted of a maximum of four faculties: the faculties of theology, medicine, law, and philosophy. Not all universities, however, possessed all four of these faculties. But what was common knowledge was that three faculties were considered 'high' or 'superior' and only one was considered 'low' or 'inferior' - the faculty of philosophy (the faculty of the Arts or the Humanities, as one could say today).

In order to be able to understand this somewhat strange division we should, however, start by considering this fact in its context. First of all, the faculty of philosophy was largely considered a 'preparatory' faculty. In fact, the faculty of philosophy was called the *Ancilla Theologiae* - the handmaiden of theology.[2] Furthermore, the students entering this faculty were the youngest and this only confirmed the fact that the philosophy faculty was indeed preparatory.

Obviously there is nothing wrong with preparatory faculties or is there any reason to scream for a 'bullying-alarm'? The problem, however, is that even in this context some other aspects form a serious problematic that can be seen as a form of bullying. First of all, even though there existed universities that had just one faculty, not a single medieval university consisted merely of a faculty of philosophy.[3] Furthermore, most students who started in the philosophy faculty never even entered one of the 'higher' faculties. So the preparatory claim could be seen as not *that* consistent, and maybe there were other reasons for calling this faculty 'low'. Secondly, and more importantly, the fact that the students were the youngest did not imply that the 'professors' - or at least that is how we would call them today - were also younger than those in the other faculties. This was indeed not always the case, and these 'professors' did not really appreciate the 'low' status given to their faculty. In fact, it did not take long before some of these 'professors'

in the philosophy faculty started to rebel against the lower status of their faculty and especially against the confinements that were imposed upon them - and these confinements are the reason why I think one can speak of bullying even in the context of the medieval university. In Paris, for example, there were frequent controls placed by theologians on the teachings of the philosophy faculty. Furthermore, 'professors' of philosophy were very often reminded of their task to be humble. Reminding the teachers of their required virtue of humility was, in fact, a good way of keeping them from invading other domains (which was the true aim of this discourse).[4]

Like I said, some of these 'professors' did not easily accept the 'preparatory' status of their faculty nor the strict confinements imposed upon them. Siger from Brabant or Boethius from Dacia, to name just two, can easily be pinpointed as part of the unhappy group (and if one wants to interpret some of Thomas of Aquinas's affirmations regarding the *preambula fidei*, even he, a teacher of theology, thought the restrictions on the philosophy faculty were too stringent). Furthermore, the frequent controls placed upon the philosophers more than once resulted in trials and condemnation that ranged from the prohibition of teaching to, in some rare cases, much worse punishments.[5]

However, without wanting to remain too constrained by history, this form of structural university bullying did not stop that quickly. Immanuel Kant (and that is almost 5 centuries later) still talks about the diverse faculties in the universities in the same manner. In this case, the theology faculty was still seen as the most superior of the three higher faculties and the faculty of philosophy was still considered the lowest.[6] What is very interesting and significant in Kant's reasoning regarding this classification is that he tried to interpret it. In fact, rather than being simply the lower faculty, for Kant it came to be the faculty that was utterly free.[7] The lower faculty could be considered the lower one for Kant because it was 'useless' in a positive way, that is, without any utility to the state.[8]

Even though the university as an institution underwent some major changes during and after the Enlightenment, in a rather strange way this form of structural bullying remained present in the further development of the university up until our present day. The only thing that changed was the 'bully' and, as we shall see in what follows, this new way of interpreting the 'lower' state of the philosophy faculty, as thought of by Kant, was precisely what would start haunting it in our modern times - at least, it would start haunting not just philosophy but the faculty of Arts or Humanities as a whole.

3. Two Cultures

Coming closer to our time, I think that probably most of us have read Sir Charles P. Snow's Rede Lecture at Cambridge, *The Two Cultures*.[9] Basically, what Snow wanted to say comes down to the following two fundamental ideas: first; there is no communication between the scientific and the non-scientific culture,

and second - a consideration that can without much doubt be classified as a 'bullish' remark - that this non-scientific culture lacked the rigour and the capacity to understand the industrial and scientific revolution. Snow calls the intellectuals of that non-scientific culture 'natural Luddites,' in short, people who rebel against progress! In fact, the lack of non-scientific culture was the gravest of all things for Snow as was firmly convinced that scientists (science) could actually make the world into a better place by helping the underprivileged. Before commenting on these claims of Snow, let us start by accepting that the non-scientific culture of Snow can be considered as the Arts or Humanities.

What is, first of all, interesting is what Snow says both cultures think about each other and how this confirms their state of non-communication. Already Snow could state that most comments on behalf of natural scientists towards humanists and vice versa are based on commonplaces. Natural scientists are superficial and shallow optimists and humanists have despicable social attitudes.[10] But, even though Snow said that these were commonplaces, it did not prevent him from adding that yes, natural scientists are optimists but not superficial ones. In fact, their optimism is very much needed for the rest of humanity. Turning then to the other culture, Snow says that he does not want to defend the un-defendable but that, luckily, certain literary sensibilities last only for one generation! What Snow does here is not dismantle commonplaces but add to them. And, as we all know, the ugly aspect of commonplaces is that they are hard to get rid of. In fact, even though the natural sciences did not save the world (and this was Snow's major argument - or should one say 'dream?'), they did *win* the hearts of the larger public and the university, changing it in their favour.

After some harsh attacks on Snow, the polemic on the two cultures started to fade away. But a couple of months ago, the American developmental psychologist Jerome Kagan found it necessary to 'revive' this discussion about the two cultures; he wrote a book entitled *The Three Cultures*. What is most interesting for the discourse I have embarked upon is that in this intriguing work, which basically addresses the different methodologies of the *three* scientific cultures - methodological differences that can be seen as majorly responsible for the great lack of communication between the sciences that still persists - the author offers us a good résumé of the developments of these three cultures in the university since Snow's time.

What has basically happened and changed to the university after Snow, and this was not predicted by him, regards the structural re-formation of the university institution. The enormous progress and the successes of the natural sciences brought along large amounts of governmental and private grants. Soon deans and provosts, as Kagan continues, started to acknowledge this new money and rewarded the scholars responsible for this. As this proceeded, a firm asymmetry between the sciences within the university was created. This probably does not sound wrong or incorrect in principle. But unfortunately the privileged situation of

the natural scientist started to be considered as 'natural' and the natural scientists no longer felt embarrassed to demonstrate their utter lack of interest in the other scientific cultures. Kagan himself goes even further, stating that scientists 'began to display some arrogance'.[11] In fact, as Kagan finishes, scientists have lost their humility, a humility completely different than the one confronted above. It is a loss of humility that has only allowed bullying to grow as I will try to show.

4. The Age of (Structural) Bullying

> Let's face it, the humanities are a luxury that should be left to fend for itself for funding by bamboozling rich but daft philanthropists. What have the humanities actually delivered in the past 200 years? Have they revolutionised society in the way technology has repeatedly done? Have they improved the quality of life by curing diseases? Have their insights led to a better understanding of how the world/universe works and our place in it? No. The best one can hope from the humanities is that their currency of ideas might somehow reign in the excesses of superstition and intolerance, but that hasn't happened either. It's time the humanities had to justify their existence the way those of us working in objective fields do - and time that their government funding was cut and reallocated if they cannot rise to that challenge.[12]

This is a response by Alex Duggan from the 24th of June 2008 to an article by Professor Kevin Sharpe of the University of London on the need for the Humanities to start working together. In this response, Duggan claims to be working in an 'objective field' and, as such, he thus proclaims to be a scientist. This is the most interesting aspect of his comment. It is, in fact, the perfect conclusion and summery of what I have tried to show in precedence.

The statement by Duggan is, in fact, a combination of the turnaround of Kant's interpretation of the 'lower' faculty, and Snow's accusation that a non-scientific culture is unable to help the world become a better place. I already hinted at the fact that by a strange 'coincidence' Kant's interpretation of the 'lower' philosophy faculty as the absolutely free faculty would start haunting it). Well, this freedom and this form of direct uselessness have now become the main accusation.

Somewhat generalising, I do not think it is that mistaken to say that 'scientists' no longer feel embarrassed to publicly state that they do not particularly care about the history or the moral implications of their science. Some are even more than willing to start questioning the right of the institutional existence of the Humanities. And this, be it is somewhat of a generalisation, is the ascertainment of a trend in the university and the wider world that cannot be denied - and recent

literature on this topic, especially coming from the Humanities, underwrites this all too well.

5. Some Final Thoughts

In conclusion, I would like to mention some examples and themes that can be seen as very closely related to structural bullying in the university that I have described and which will, hopefully, make my previous statements a bit more concrete. After these examples I will end with an anecdote about the difference in the funding of the diverse departments.

Firstly, there was very recently a somewhat powerful discussion in English universities regarding funding reform. The minister of Higher Education in the UK David Lammy said some time ago that:

> I want the REF to send a strong signal and give a strong financial incentive for departments to not only do excellent research, but also find ways of helping turn that into impacts that benefit the economy and society as a whole.[13]

Furthermore, it seems that this 'impact-factor' will have a rather high percentage (25%) of the overall outcome. This obviously will have huge effects upon 'blue sky research' in all sectors but will have a devastating impact on the Humanities.

Secondly, in March this year (2009) the philosophy faculty at the University of Liverpool was threatened with closure (as well as the politics and statistics departments). The main reason given for the threat was the university's wish to become a strong research-led university and, thus, faculties with poor RAE were to be cut. It did not matter if recruitment and teaching in these faculties were done well! Luckily, the threat did not become reality, but still, this tale seems very much to be part of the same trend in current academe.

Let me, however, end on a somewhat happier tone by finishing with a rather funny anecdote. Arguing, as a mythical story goes, about who should receive what amount of funding, the sciences were divided according to their working methodology. Applied sciences, the deciding committee argued, needed machines and tools and all different kinds of materials to be able to work. This meant that they needed a lot of money (which they obviously received). The theoretical sciences were a lot cheaper as they needed just pen and paper and a rubbish bin to throw away their badly drawn or badly calculated theories. Then there were the Humanities. They were the cheapest of all (and would obviously receive the absolute minimum of funding). Just like the theoretical scientists, they needed pen and paper but, unlike their theoretical peers, they did not need a rubbish bin as, the story goes, they did not have to throw away their bad writing!

Notes

[1] There are still some remnants of the positive meaning of the word '*boel*' in the Dutch language. In some rare occasions the loved one is still called '*boelie*'. Another remaining positive use originating from '*boele*' can be found in the word '*boeleke*' which means 'newborn'. One could make the connotation, particularly of interest in this context of bullying, that a newborn is an absolutely powerless creature. Professor Gavin Fairbairn also indicated to me that in the English language there exists the expression 'bully for you' which generally is conceived as having a positive meaning.
[2] Still today, in Pontifical universities, if you want to study theology you need a bachelor's degree in philosophy.
[3] Cfr. J Verger, 'Patterns', *A History of the University in Europe: Universities in the Middle Ages*, Vol. 1, W Ruëgg (ed), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p. 42.
[4] Cfr. J Verger, 'Teachers', *A History of the University*, op. cit., pp. 160-163.
[5] In fact, if the teacher refused to recant his erroneous teachings he could be condemned of being a heretic.
[6] I Kant, *The Conflict of the Faculties*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1992, p. 24: '*drei obern Facultäten und ... einer untern*'.
[7] Ibid., pp. 27-29.
[8] Ibid., pp. 25-27.
[9] I have used the Italian translation I posses: CP Snow, *Le Due Culture*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, 2005.
[10] Ibid., pp. 20-22.
[11] J Kagan, *The Three Cultures: Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and the Humanities*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2009, p. ix.
[12] Alex Duggan's response to Kevin Sharpe's article: K Sharpe, 'We Need a Flagship to Lead the Humanities Fleet to Fighting Fitness', *Times Higher Education,* 19 June 2008, http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storycode=402451, Viewed on 05/10/09.
[13] P Baty, 'Lammy Demands 'Further and Faster' Progress Towards Economic Impact', *Times Higher Education*, 10 September 2009; http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=26&storycode=408111, Viewed 15/10/09.

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The Rage to Control: A Comparative Approach to Bullying as a Symptom of Inoperative Communities

Evy Varsamopoulou

Abstract
This paper argues that the phenomenon of bullying relies for its persistence on its tolerance by the communities in which it takes place. Tolerance in the case of bullying is a stance resulting from a number of variable causes. Of these, the most insidious is the feature of enjoyment and attraction to power that underlie what has been called 'mobbing'. The focus for this study will be the workplace, specifically, academic institutions of higher learning. It argues that the increasing and/or increasingly documented phenomenon of academic bullying is not merely an example of bullying that is context-specific, nor even just a sign of the multifaceted crisis of modern universities. More than these, it offers an analogy for the phenomenon of international bullying. This analogy is furthered by the use of a common (cover-up) enlightenment rhetoric of rights, justice, property, freedom and so on.

Key Words: Academic, bullying, democracy, target, victim.

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1. Introduction

The phenomenon of bullying is no longer restricted to children and adolescents. Bullying extends from the age and institutional space of compulsory education to the professional workplace of adults, and even the arena of international relations. What has happened? Is it that more adults are failing to reach 'maturity' and thus carry juvenile behaviour patterns into adulthood? Can statesmen (and states) be said to engage in such recognisably childish behaviour while ostensibly pursuing the serious business of diplomacy and politics? Or, have social scientists merely recognised a disturbing continuum of bullying that has too many similarities to playground politics to be ignored or otherwise dubbed 'normal'? Whether one chooses to see professional workers and states as overgrown children or to see children as micro-adults, the discourse on bullying in the workplace and in all areas of human relations has developed and we must be attentive to both its reality and to our responsibility to deal with it.

What this means is that once we recognise the injustice and harm of bullying, and admit it has no place in civil (and civilised) human relations, we cannot just accept it. We are compelled to respond in a way that would end bullying and restore equitable, ethical relations. In the schoolroom and the playground, this responsibility falls to the teacher, with the aid of other institutional figures, possibly also the children's parents, and, if necessary, social services. At this stage

of life, the effort is to understand the underlying causes, psychological and social, that have led to the bullying. The bully is identified and comes under scrutiny. Attention is also paid to the target or victim of the bully, to what leads one to become a target and to how to overcome the experience and how to avoid being bullied. Until recently the approach taken therefore excluded consideration of the crucial role played by the third party: i.e.: the rest of the group in the environment of the bully and target.[1] Although literature on this recognises that part of this group may in fact be colluding with the bully and so also actively participating in bullying, a new phenomenon has emerged: 'mobbing'. This form of bullying still considers there to be a main bully figure without whom the bullying would be defused (the secondary bullies often being akin to the head bully's minions).

Despite the invaluable understanding gained by studies of bullying that focus on the bully and the target/victim, here I propose that the phenomenon of bullying relies for its persistence on the tolerance of the community/group in which it takes place. Tolerance in the case of bullying is not merely to be understood as a weakness or limitation of the institutional contexts of liberal societies, but especially as a stance resulting from one or more of a number of variables. These include: fear; indifference; individualism; the autonomy of the agents in an institutional setting; personal interest; vicarious pleasure; a repressed desire to bully; personal dislike of the target/victim; an inability to make decisions for oneself; and a lack of knowledge (since much bullying is hidden). Of these, the most insidious, I argue, is the feature of enjoyment and attraction to power, which also underlies the frequent mutation of bullying into mobbing.

Mobbing transforms a bully's individualistic rage for control into a type of 'power sharing' between an unofficial ruling clique, and thus seeks to normalise domination via a Machiavellian strategy, while also isolating and scapegoating the target. As a result, the causes listed above for why the remaining members of a group/community choose to tolerate, ignore or turn a blind eye to the bullying gain intensity. This leads to the perpetuation of the phenomenon - even beyond the 'elimination' of the target - so it extends to other existing group members or newcomers who may fail to 'pay due heed to' or challenge the bully and/or power-wielding clique. In their unique study *Faculty Incivility*, Twale and De Luca argue that:

> Aggressive behaviour that is legitimised through approval or indifference will be replicated and eventually inculcated because the risk of punishment is low or non-existent. The uncivil behaviour becomes more self-regulated and normative.[2]

While Twale and De Luca's idea may go often unnoticed by those who have been too-long accustomed to an academic bullying culture - having either isolated themselves in a 'safety cocoon' or having embraced the normative role of 'yes'

man/woman to the main bully and mob - it does not go unnoticed to some: 'new entrants and subversives who have not fully embraced the culture'.[3]

While the phenomenon of bullying, the 'profile' of the bully and the 'usual suspect' targets have surprising similarities in any given professional setting, in this paper I would like to concentrate on academe. My choice to concentrate attention on the university in particular may appear surprising:

> Most outsiders to academe believe the university is a serene environment where scholars pursue a life of the mind. In fact, for some, academe is likely to be chilly, unreceptive, limiting and contentious.[4]

In any workplace, the relations between the people there is typically not one of friendship or intimacy, and thus not personal; relations are instead governed by a set of official and also tacit rules of behaviour. These rules aim to maintain civility and facilitate work production. The university is typical in that sense yet it contains two features that need to be emphasised: individual members of staff function in a highly individualistic mode for the production of research (in research-oriented institutions); these same members must collaborate on a great number of issues concerning self-governance and pedagogy. The first feature favours competitiveness, self-absorption and autonomy, while the second feature requires co-operation, being attuned to others and a sense of community.[5] In disciplines where collaboration in the production of research is rare, such as in the humanities, the schizoid split between these two modes of functioning can be even more pronounced.

In order to appreciate the factors that may inhibit or delay appropriate action by the victim/target and those in academic and/or administrative roles to stop the bullying, it is worth conducting a brief overview of some typical bullying methods:

> Masterful aggressors can use their social network and role opportunities to indirectly express anger and incivility by taking a circuitous route to conceal their behaviours so as not to be detected or linked back to the aggression or the victim.[6]

The evidence shows that when such an attempt is made, for instance, by a victim - who will typically be more active in trying to find the origin of the continued aggression - then any attempt to confront or expose the bully (and the mob) leads to increased bullying, with the aim of forcing the victim to leave the institution (usually either by their quitting or refusing them tenure). Twale and De Luca note that both the literature on the structure and functioning of academe and their own empirical data reveal a plethora of hidden ways in which power can be successfully abused.[7]

Notwithstanding the institutional setup that may foster the abuse of power and let bullying fester, there is undeniable agency in the act of bullying and mobbing for which individuals should be held responsible and accountable. If there were solely structural causes - though I certainly do not mean to underplay their significance - then everyone would be a bully and we would have neither targets nor 'bystanders'. Even in institutions rife with corruption and widespread bullying, there is still an ineradicable level of individual responsibility. Although the inter-relationship of corruption and bullying is a vast subject requiring discreet comparative analyses within each situation, it is arguable that, on the level of its academic staff at least, various features of the modern university attract certain personalities.

I will limit myself here to remarks linked to some future strands of such an investigation, by looking at the profile given by Goleman of what he calls 'the dark trio' of sociopathic personality disorders: the narcissist, the Machiavellian, and the psychopath.[8] All three share a lack of empathy and see others merely as objects to manipulate and use in order to augment their grandiosity, achieve their power ambitions or satisfy their needs. Yet, although each represents a form of sociopathic disorder - a reduced social intelligence, in which Goleman has also factored in emotional intelligence - they also form a continuum of increasing potential harm to others. The most significant difference in social terms is probably the fact that, as Goleman illustrates, the first two are likely to move legitimately and even gain significant success in the professional world; the Machiavellian, in particular, thrives in highly competitive professional environments, undetected in his/her manoeuvrings by virtue of cunning charm and a purely cognitive sense for others' psychology that enables manipulation. Yet, apart from an inability to perceive others' feelings, they also have a diminished and confused sense of their own; for instance, mixing up anger with sadness. Goleman bases his arguments of *true* social intelligence (as opposed to a superficial social savvy) on the ability to empathise, to attune oneself to others' feelings and feel *with* them. This is in line with much recent psychology literature and advances in the study of brain activity, particularly social neuroscience.[9]

Studies in the field of social neuroscience and social psychology supplement Twale and De Luca's study of bullying in academia, leading us from an awareness and appreciation of the extent of the phenomenon and its reliance on social and institutional structures and cultures, to an understanding of the subjective psychology of the agents. Individuals exhibiting either a narcissistic or Machiavellian disorder will surely take advantage of - maybe even enjoy - impunity or reward in institutional culture. Indeed, it is not only that the 'hidden spaces' in the institutional structure encourage the emergence of and nurture these disorders.[10] What is more problematic is that they thus establish themselves in an open though unofficial manner as *the culture of the institution,* making it increasingly difficult to stop or reverse the downward ethical spiral of the

workplace, even if it purports or aims to be an exemplary citadel of the community of knowledge. Considering the intolerance shown to 'upstarts' who question the values (or lack thereof) of such a milieu, it is not difficult to see how such a 'takeover' and transformation can become total and therefore normative.

All of this leads to an obvious argument regarding the necessity for the community of others - that is, those not directly affected by the bullying - to assert their presence and take a stance as soon as possible. Neither the narcissist nor the Machiavellian would dare to risk their professional success (both being extraordinarily self-oriented as well as success-oriented) or their sense of their power and prestige by going too far in the abuse of others. The fear of being detected, exposed or even punished would suffice as a deterrent for people with these types of disorder. Not so with the psychopath, however, who is chiefly distinguished by a complete disregard for consequences.

The bully, as has always been known to teachers, likes to act when it is safe to do so, hence the choice of target being someone who will not or cannot defend him/herself or retaliate, either by inclination (non-aggressive), by inferior physical strength, or through a lack of allies (newcomers or foreigners being prime targets). Therefore, for others to turn a blind eye to the bullying and profess 'neutrality' is really, in fact, siding with the bully by confirming the isolation of the target. This may not be how an individual who behaves this way feels, but it certainly will appear this way to the bully and the mob, and will not offer much consolation to the target, who then becomes a victim - of the inoperative community, rather than of the bully. The bully/mob cannot act - and therefore the phenomenon cannot occur - without the assurance of the inoperativeness of the community. Bullying may have its origin in subjective, psychological shortcomings, but it is a phenomenon that occurs in the social world. As such, everyone is always already involved. Ethical action certainly involves close observation as well as judicious analysis of each situation before acting; having social intelligence certainly helps in making a decision as to what is happening. However, given the body of knowledge available to date on what is a widespread phenomenon of psychological and social violence, leading in not a few cases to illness or suicide, renders inalienable the ethical responsibility of each witness.

Although the brevity of this paper does not allow me to pursue the analogy between the schoolyard, the workplace and international relations, the following remarks are made in the hope of instigating further thought and discussion. In the realm of larger group politics and international politics, there is a chillingly famous dictum, often reiterated as a poem, of the excuses made by non-targeted communities when others were persecuted:

> First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out -
> because I was not a communist;

> Then they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out -
> because I was not a socialist;
> Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out -
> because I was not a trade unionist;
> Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out - because I
> was not a Jew;
> Then they came for me - and there was no one left to speak out
> for me.[11]

Not so long ago, sovereign states were within their legitimate right to do what they wanted with their populations: displacements, massacre, liquidation; there was no word to designate these issues as crimes, no international law to prohibit them. The world community of states looked on, perhaps cared, but could do nothing; many, of course, were guilty of not a few of their own crimes against their colonised peoples. Then, after a decades-long struggle, started by young law student Raphael Lemkin, and those who joined in his struggle, and after the horrors of the holocaust, genocide was finally recognised and designated as an international crime. It recurred, most spectacularly and gruesomely, in Rwanda. However, before any violence breaks out, before any massacre, there is the preparation, through propaganda and on the most simple, interpersonal and quotidian level by those who seek control over another, who have a rage to control and gain power. This is not to simply or blithely ignore the histories, economic and political structures and influences that make fertile ground for violence to erupt. Yet the violence is also always personal because it is embodied. In the 'I-You' relationship; when ethical relationality fails, the third person is needed to recognise injustice and prevent violence; this third person, is designated by the figure of the *polis*, of the state and the law.[12] Rather than stand as a mere witness to events, only capable of reflecting on it either in prospective fear or after the event, they must recognise that their situated-ness in a shared social space constitutes an undeniable ethical responsibility; the responsibility to respond, to speak out, to act.

In the days when universities and research centres did not aim to monopolise the production and dissemination of knowledge, academe was often seen as stuffy, dusty and over-conservative by leading contributors to the virtual 'Republic of Letters'. Nowadays, when 'competition has replaced collegiality,' any invocation of a community of scholars - if it occurs - refers only to a defined, delimited architectural space. [13] Yet in acquiring a space, social and economic currency and a rulebook, the ghost of the older Republic's ideal of an ethical and egalitarian community does not let today's institutionalised scholars rest in peace. What plagues them?

The choice of academe, with special reference to the humanities, is one that recognises the critical function that universities seek to embody within society at large. It is only within the last hundred years that scientific activity has become

entirely professionalised and institutionalised, while it is only after World War II that those who are concerned with historical, philosophical and, in general, critical theoretical reflection on society have become increasingly absorbed by the institutional and professional role of teacher and researcher in universities and higher education establishments. Thus, when bullying takes place amongst such professionals of the sciences, social sciences and humanities in these institutions, we are faced with the awkward and unseemly paradox of individuals well-versed in the modern rhetoric of rights, justice, intellectual property, autonomy, freedom, or even dissent and revolutionary change, who use this rhetoric to cover up their more Machiavellian behaviour, while their research identities serve very well to absolve them (in their own eyes foremost, but also in the eyes of others) of any suspicion of contradictory quotidian ethics. The struggles of myriad thinkers, who were active agents of social reform and revolution are in this way reduced to both a marketable good for one's own self-promotion and a universal disclaimer of misbehaviour. It is perhaps no wonder that this abuse of power and of discourse has alienated many from those who serve the establishments of either academe or the state.

Notes

[1] I am referring to the work of the Norwegian psychologist Dan Olweus, whose successful bullying prevention programme for schools also takes into consideration, and tries to involve, bystanders.

[2] JD Twale & BM De Luca, *Faculty Incivility: The Rise of the Academic Bully Culture and What to Do About It,* John Wiley & Sons, San Fransisco, CA., 2008, p. 50.

[3] Ibid., p. 96.

[4] Ibid., p. 112. This is especially the belief of those from the lower economic or working classes; the 'oblates', as Bourdieu calls them (identifying himself amongst them as, indeed, does the author of this paper), whose 'disappointment' is therefore greater when 'faced with the annihilation of the truths and values to which [they] were destined and dedicated', Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. xxvi. First published by Les Editions de Minuit, 1984.

[5] See especially Twale & De Luca, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

[6] Ibid., p. 52.

[7] See Twale & De Luca, 2008, op. cit., pp. 69-92.

[8] See D Goleman, 'The Dark Triad', *Social Intelligence: The New Science of Human Relationships*, Arrow Books, London, 2007.

[9] D Goleman, op. cit., pp. 3-101; see also 'Forget Survival of the Fittest: It is Kindness that Counts', an interview with D Keltner, Director of the Social Interaction Laboratory.

[10] Twale & De Luca, op. cit., p. 92.

[11] Attributed to M Niemöller. For a discussion concerning the poem and its attribution, see H Marcuse's web page at the University of California Santa Barbara, http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/niem.htm, (Accessed 14 /10/09).
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Intensive Training in Youth Sports: A New Abuse of Power?

Melanie Lang

Abstract
In many popular sports such as gymnastics, tennis, skating, diving and swimming, children are pushed into intensive training programmes at a young age.[1] Commonly, these intensive training regimes are punitively enforced by the adults whom youth athletes look up to the most - their coaches and parents.[2] Is this level of daily training healthy for a young athlete? Or is it a modern form of child abuse that has become such an accepted part of elite youth sport it is rendered invisible? Are coaches justified in pushing youth athletes towards success? Or is such behaviour bullying or even a flagrant abuse of power? Using examples, this paper aims to trigger debate on normalised training practices in competitive youth sport.

Key Words: Abuse, bullying, coach pressure, early specialisation, intensive training, youth sports.

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1. Early Specialisation in Sport

Contemporary sports training requires long and frequent practice hours, often coupled with specialised preparation outside of training. Children and young people are increasingly adopting such training regimens and many sports, particularly those in the Olympic programme, now have talent-identification plans that target children, in some cases beginning while athletes are in primary school.[3] Specialisation in sport occurs when athletes limit their participation to a single sport, which is trained for and competed in on a year-round basis.[4] It has long been associated with sports where a small, prepubescent frame is considered essential, such as women's gymnastics.[5] For example, Romanian gymnast Nadia Comăneci was introduced to gymnastics in nursery school, joined an elite training squad at age 7 and competed in her first international team event at age 10.[6] In 1992, US gymnast Shannon Miller won 5 Olympic medals at age 15 and in 1996 compatriot Dominique Moceanu, who joined a gymnastics club at age 3, moved to an elite programme at age 10 and became the youngest athlete to win a place on the US World Championship team at the age of 14, won an Olympic gold just days before her 15th birthday.[7] Moceanu's case particularly illustrates the toll of such early specialisation in sport: As an adult, Moceanu sued her parents for squandering her trust fund and complained that she had never had a childhood.[8]

Following pressure from child development experts, the Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique, the sport's international governing body, has now set minimum age limits for competitors in Olympic events - 16 years old in gymnastics, rising to 18 years old in the case of trampoline events - in an effort to

protect young athletes from health risks such as the incessant pounding required in gymnastics training, which can take a toll on a developing body.[9] However, there have been suggestions that overzealous coaches, keen to select the best athletes in the race to bring home gold, are flouting minimum age regulations. In the most high-profile case, China faced embarrassing allegations at the 2008 Beijing Games that it had fielded two underage female gymnasts, one of whom was allegedly only 14, while in the Middle East, camel racers are continuing to use child jockeys despite national and Camel Racing Association laws prohibiting the practice.[10]

But childhood specialisation in sport is no longer confined to sports where a tiny, youthful physique is preferred; it is also increasingly common in other sports. Children as young as 6 years old train in elite football schemes, while high-performance swimmers have been found to begin formal competitive training earlier than in any other sport, at an average age of 8 years and 6 months, although many elite clubs accept children as young as 5 into their training programmes and some elite coaches write off swimmers if they have not joined an elite training squad by the age of 11.[11] Meanwhile, in skating, competitions begin as early as age 3 and children as young as 5 years old are involved in formalised training programmes.[12]

The history of recent elite skaters bears this out. US Olympic gold medallist Sarah Hughes joined an elite skating programme at age 3, while her peer Tara Lipinski took up figure skating at age 6 and won the World Championships when she was 14.[13] Michelle Kwan, one of America's most-winning skaters, joined an elite programme at 8, where she squeezed her three-to-four hours training sessions in by waking at 3am to practice before school.[14] Similarly, Olympic bronze medallist Shen Xue attended practice twice daily, including at 4am, from the age of 6.[15] In tennis, Switzerland's Martina Hingis entered her first tournament at age 4 and turned professional two weeks after her 14th birthday; American Jennifer Capriati learned to play tennis as a toddler, was enrolled in an intense training programme at age 10 and turned professional at 13; and Russian-born Maria Sharapova began elite tennis training at age 9.[16]

Despite the increasing drive within sport for early specialisation, no correlation has been found between beginning systematic training at an early age and the guarantee of future athletic success. In fact, research into some of the most successful Olympic athletes found that fewer than 8% specialised in the sport in which they won a medal before the age of 12, suggesting a multi-disciplinary approach is more effective in achieving long-term success.[17] Young athletes who specialise in one sport from an early age risk physical and mental burnout, overuse injuries, shorter sporting careers and increased likelihood of dropout.[18]

In light of the negative consequences of early sport specialisation, the Council of Europe recommends that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) "… raise the age limits for participating in certain competitions to 16 or 18 years, depending on the sport."[19] More than a decade after this recommendation, no action has been

taken and the IOC has still not set minimum age limits for participation in the Games.[20] Rather, national governing bodies of sport and international federations are permitted, though not required, to stipulate age limits on a sport-by-sport basis, which has resulted in wide variations in age limits within competitions across different sports.[21] Meanwhile, legislation that is perhaps best served to protect children on an international scale, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, has yet to engage with the issue of minimum ages for children's intensive specialisation in sport, despite recommending age limits on other issues, such as marriage (age 18), employment (between 15-18, depending on the type of work) and criminal responsibility (age 12).[22]

Of course, not all children and young people who specialise in sports programmes experience negative outcomes. Indeed, participation in sport does not, *ipso facto*, guarantee a specific set of positive or negative outcomes. A distinction should, perhaps, be made between early specialisation among children who join a formal elite training programme and those who train and compete in a single sport but under less demanding circumstances, since the latter are less likely to experience negative consequences. However, many Olympic and other high-status sports are requiring higher levels of investment from earlier ages, with children being pushed towards specialisation in sport long before they reach the age of majority, often even long before they are able to make decisions for themselves.[23] Should 5-year-old children be encouraged to specialise in one sport? Is the expansion of formalised training programmes into youth sport simply a necessity for the effective long-term development of successful athletes? Or is it motivated by children's vulnerability, malleability and tendency towards unquestioning compliance?

2. Intensive Training of Youth Athletes

The intensity and frequency of training expected of young athletes aiming to reach elite level also has the potential to reverse the benefits of sports participation. In modern competitive sport, as in wider society, quantity is being conflated with quality, with the former overtaking the latter as the primary concern.[24] Consequently, coaches commonly (and incorrectly) believe that athletes who train for longer and more intensely than their peers will be most successful.[25]

In many popular sports, such as gymnastics, tennis, figure skating, diving and swimming, young athletes endure numerous long, painful hours of practice once, sometimes twice, daily and all year round.[26] In swimming, for example, young swimmers commonly train all year without a break, putting in multiple hours and covering great distances - swimmers as young as 9 years old have been reported training 8 times a week, covering 24 kilometres, rising to 35 kilometres weekly for swimmers aged 14 years old - the aerobic equivalent of running 257 kilometres.[27] Light reports children under 13 training 5 and 6 times a week in Australia for one and a half hours at a time, often rising at 5am to train before school, while

Donnelly identifies swimmers as young as 12 training for more than 25 hours per week - a training load that would be considered extreme even for adults.[28] Indeed, the weekly distances commonly covered by elite youth swimmers are comparable to those for adult competitors only a decade ago and, in some cases, are higher than those covered by current swimmers on the senior British team.[29]

Meanwhile in other sports, child athletes have been found to train 6 to 8 hours a day, 6 days a week from as young as 8. Hong discusses how children in China are identified as talented at age 5 and 6 then channelled into specialised sports school, where they train for 6 to 8 hours a day, while child athletes who have already reached elite status in various sports from athletics to badminton train 10 to 12 hours daily.[30] Meanwhile, 10-year-old figure skaters in the United States commonly train for almost one hour 5 days a week, and some 10 year old ice-hockey players in Canada play 90 games in a season.[31] In gymnastics, former successful child athletes have spoken of beginning intensive training soon after they learned to walk.[32] US Olympic champion Dominique Moceanu has described regularly being suspended by her feet from a bar attached to a door frame at age 1, while skaters as young as 6 years old report repeatedly taking painkillers to numb the pain caused by intensive daily training sessions on their growing frames.[33]

In the culture of modern elite sport, where quantity has overtaken quality as the training mantra, training has become life consuming, even when the athlete involved is a child. Youth athletes dedicate tremendous amounts of time to their sport, often willingly sacrificing other social activities in order to train.[34] They report lives in which every minute is taken up by scheduled activity - school, train, study, sleep - and often complain the sacrifices they make - to their health, social development and education - are too great.[35] Recognition that such long training hours have become normalised as part of the discursive regime of elite youth sport has led to suggestions that elite youth sport more closely resembles the adult world of work than the child's world of play, and that child athletes are being exploited in ways that would not be tolerated in other social settings.[36]

Indeed, elite young athletes subjected to such intensive training are at risk of physical and psychological damage, inhibited bone growth, delayed growth and onset of the menstrual cycle, physical and mental burnout and increased potential for injury and dropout. Moreover, in its extremes, intense specialised training of young athletes may constitute child abuse as defined by the World Health Organisation since it may result in "actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power".[37] Yet despite these concerns and the mounting evidence that youth athletes are involved in intensive training programmes, sports authorities rarely question the practice.[38]

While adult employees are protected against intensive work schedules under health and safety regulations and international labour law, legislation or guidance that covers children in sporting environments is limited.[39] Yet as children are in

perpetual physical and psychological evolution, they are often more vulnerable than adults, and any intensive training programme, whether in sports, arts, education or any other field, should consequently respect the child's biological clock. Are such training regimens healthy for a developing, young athlete, and simply a sign of the commitment required to become an international athlete? Or are they a modern system of child abuse, an exploitation of the bodies and minds of children too young to understand the implications of such training?

Notes

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Suicide and Bullying

Gavin Fairbairn

Abstract
Bullying, perhaps the most important ethical issue in the modern world, always involves the same human emotions. Those who bully enjoy the feeling of power they get from dominating others, and take pleasure in watching them suffer. Those who are bullied suffer, both from the cruel treatment they receive, and because they are either powerless or unwilling to do anything about it, because they fear the possibility that doing so could worsen their situation. And so they not only suffer, but feel trapped in suffering. This is common, whatever the nature of the bullying; of the bullies, of those who are bullied, and of the places in which it goes on. Bullying can ruin lives and it can end lives. In this paper I focus attention on suicide, the most drastic way in which individuals try to escape from bullying, and especially on suicide among bullied young people.[1]

Key Words: Bullying, cosmic roulette, gestured suicide, suicide.

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A few years ago my best friend came across someone who was in our class at school. He had not spoken to this man, but said that he had looked just the same as when we last saw him - still the same awkward appearance, still the same thick glasses, still the same strange walk. Just the same, though by then Ben, like us, was middle aged. Though they had not spoken, my friend had felt embarrassed and guilty about the bullying Ben had experienced in school - the pushing and shoving, the name calling.

As we talked, my friend David and I recalled other boys who were bullied in our school, including 'Vincent,' whose habit of ostentatiously sweeping back his greasy, Brylcrémed hair set people on edge and led to an array of nasty nicknames and to both physical and psychological harassment. Then there was 'Donald,' the extremely bright only child of elderly parents, who was shy, kept to himself and tended to grunt rather than speak; and what's more he grunted in an accent that was noticeably different from everyone else's.

David did not feel guilty because he was part of the bullying that Ben had suffered in our school. However, seeing Ben again had made him reflect on the fact that by failing to intervene, he shared the guilt of those who did the harassing, the pushing, the name calling; those who rejoiced in the psychological cruelty they meted out. I warrant that if we are honest with ourselves, most of us can recall occasions in our lives - whether during our school days or since - when by refraining from intervention we contributed to the bullying experienced by someone we know or knew in the past.

Like David, I remember what happened to Ben; and I share his feelings of guilt at having allowed Ben's bullies to go unchallenged, even though at the time there was little that I could have done to help. However, if I allow myself the luxury of doing so, I feel a certain smugness about the fact that I was not only Donald's friend, but set out deliberately to become his friend, because I didn't like the way some of my classmates treated him. On the other hand, that smugness is to some extent tempered by memories of Vincent, who I disliked, partly because he seemed very conceited for no particular reason, and partly because he seemed not to care about the effects his annoying habits had on others. That is why, although I never contributed to the bullying that Vincent experienced, I can recall having found some satisfaction in it at times, though thinking back now, it occurs to me that perhaps his bragging and uncaring attitude towards others was an attempt to establish his identity in the face of the bullies' attempts to destroy it.

Bullies are universally to be disapproved of, challenged and overthrown. But not all victims of bullying are likeable. Vincent wasn't. That does not justify the bullying he experienced; and it does not justify non-intervention on the part of those who did nothing to prevent it. However, it is important to take account of this sad fact when we are trying to tackle the problems of bullying, especially among children. I don't think, for example, that it is good enough to simply tell them that they must try to get on together and in particular, that they must be nice to children who are being bullied. After all, they may have good reasons for not liking those children. Rather, if we are to put an end to bullying in schools, we need to help children and teenagers to understand that all people, whether we like them or find them attractive or not, should be respected and cared for, because that is what being a morally decent human being demands.

Moral education involves the development of empathy, which like the ability to feel sympathy, is an indicator of our humanity. However, while sympathy is an emotive response that comes from the gut and may for that reason overwhelm us whenever we identify closely with another's situation, empathy is more controlled. I describe it as being about the attempt:

> ...to understand and to experience things as another human person understands and experiences them, about the attempt imaginatively to inhabit another's world as that person, rather than to imagine what one's own experiences, perceptions and feelings would be, were one in that world.[2]

To return to Ben for a moment, given that physically he has changed little, it is easy to imagine people making fun of him still, for example, in his work place - assuming he has a job - whether he is a civil servant or an academic, a doctor, a clerk or a shopkeeper. Bullying takes place everywhere and at all levels in social and professional life, and it always involves the same emotions. Bullies enjoy

exerting power over others, and for some reason they find it pleasurable to watch others suffering. Those who are bullied not only suffer, but feel trapped in suffering, because they are either powerless to do anything about the bullying they experience, or are unwilling to do what they could do about it, because they fear the possibility of making things worse. This is common, whatever the nature of the bullying; of the bullies, of those who are bullied, and wherever it goes on.

Sometimes those who are bullied, feel so distressed by what is happening to them, that whatever their fears, they appeal to others for help. For example, if she is brave enough, someone who is bullied at work may take out a grievance against those who are bullying her - or against her employer if she has drawn attention to her plight and nothing has been done to address it. Of course, this is difficult when her manager is the bully, and in some large organisations it will undoubtedly be difficult because those who are charged with dealing with matters such as bullying and harassment may fail to act impartially in investigating complaints, and they may even be complicit in the bullying. As a result, those who are bullied may look for ways out of the situation in which they are being bullied. For example, they may resign, and some bullying is probably aimed at securing this result. Consider, for example, situations in which bullying managers set out deliberately to undercut an individual's confidence or to deprive them of opportunities for job satisfaction and development, while failing both to communicate clearly about expectations and to recognise effort or success.

Many people who are bullied fear that if they complain to those in authority they may simply make things worse. School pupils who are bullied will often fail to ask their teachers or parents for help, because they fear the dreadful consequences of doing so. For such pupils the simplest solution may be to find a new school if they are brave enough at least to share with their parents or guardians the fact that they are being bullied.

There is a more drastic way of getting out of a situation in which one is being bullied, though it involves getting away from a great deal more as well. For many years the Pilkington family, including Francesca, who had learning disabilities, had been subjected to bullying and abusive behaviour by young people in their area.[3] The police seem to have been less supportive than they might have been and Mrs Pilkington was at the end of her tether. One evening in October 2007 she took Francesca for a drive, with their family pet - a rabbit. She drove for a few minutes before parking her car in a lay-by, where it was hidden from the road by trees and bushes. In the car there was a ten litre can of petrol that she had filled earlier in the day and its back seat was piled high with clothes. At just after 11 o'clock that evening, a lorry driver who had parked in same lay-by was awoken when Mrs Pilkington's car exploded with great violence, killing both her and her daughter. Their escape from bullying came at the expense of their lives.

Bullying, as a contributory factor in the suicides of young people, is common. For example, on October 20 2006, a 14-year-old Polish girl killed herself after an

incident when she was attacked by a group of boys in her class at her school in Gdańsk.[4] Domańska reports what happened:

> A teacher leaves her classroom at Junior High School No. 2 in Gdańsk. Five boys surround Ania, a beautiful, shy girl. They pull her out from behind the desk and pull down her pants. Laughing and swearing, they grope her and pretend to rape her. The 20-minute incident is recorded on a mobile phone.

The next day Ania used a skipping rope to hang herself in her home. And on 16 September 2009 Holly Grogan, a 15-year-old girl from an English public school who was said to have a 'zest for life,' died after jumping 30 feet from a bridge into the path of oncoming traffic on a dual carriageway.[5] Holly had been subjected to cyber-bullying on Facebook. These two stories point unequivocally at suicide prompted by bullying. However, the part that bullying plays in the actions of young people who end their lives is not always clear as for example, in the case in Ireland of Robert Brummer, who shot himself with a .22 rifle and left a note that referred to the 'slagging off' he had received about his height. [6] However, Brummer's note also referred to the celebrated death by suicide of Kurt Cobain, the lead singer in the pop group Nirvana, and so it is equivocal whether the bullying to which he had been subjected, or the desire to emulate a high-profile rock star, had influenced his act more.

The fact that bullying is a contributing factor in the suicides of many school pupils has helped to draw the attention of the media to the ways in which this vilest of human activities devastates lives all over the world. Such attention has motivated campaigns to combat bullying in a number of countries, including Japan and Norway.[7] For example, in 1982 in Norway, newspaper reporting of the suicides of three 10 to 14-year-old boys, probably as the result of bullying by peers, produced public unease that led, the following year, to a national campaign against bullying in schools.[8]

For the person who dies, suicide solves the problems they are having, though it does so by removing the ability to experience anything at all. Importantly, it also does so at the expense of pain to those the individual leaves behind, because suicide creates emotional and ethical ripples that affect everyone who knew the person who died, some of whom may suffer the adverse effects of closeness to the self-inflicted death for many years, or even forever.[9] Suicide, for those who are left behind, is devastating. It is an assault on our ideas of what life should be about. Any suicide is upsetting, but when the person who dies is a student or school pupil, it is likely to strike us as particularly awful. The idea that a young person, with the whole of his life ahead of him, should choose to end it all, and that we were powerless to prevent him doing so, is shocking. The realisation that a young person has killed himself because he wishes to escape from bullying is almost guaranteed

to invoke the most negative of feelings - both against those who did the bullying and against those who did not prevent it, including oneself, if the dead individual was a relative or friend, a pupil or student.

If a pupil kills himself, does this mean that he wanted to die? It need not, even if he dies as the result of his own intentional act. He might, for example, have intended no more than to draw the attention of others to his distress, whether to engage their sympathy and thus to enlist their support, or to punish them for some real or imagined offence. The idea that some people who act in apparently suicidal ways were not trying to kill themselves, but to change their lives by changing the ways that others act towards them, is well accepted. There are two basic ways in which a person can achieve this end.

First, he might gesture at suicide - in the hope and expectation that if he does so, others will come to his aid.[10] Like an actor in a one-man play, the gesturer stages, directs and performs in an enactment of his death. In the theatrical performances we call plays, actors intend to produce emotional reactions in the audience; in a suicide gesture, the suicide gesturer also intends, by his performance, to move and produce emotional reactions in others. The suicide gesturer does not ask for help, but demands it, and those who become aware of his actions do not, if they are decent people, have any choice about whether to help him.

Secondly, he might engage in the dangerous game of cosmic roulette, gambling with his life without intending either to end up dead, or living. Cosmic gamblers allow God or the cosmos to decide. Those who act like this are more likely to do so by taking pills than they are by taking caustic poisons, or using firearms, or hanging themselves. The reason is plain to see; ingesting pills most often allows for a rescue to come about.

Where a suicide gesturer dies, his death is not a suicide, but a self-inflicted death by accident. Consider, for example, a youngster who takes an overdose of pills in her bedroom, expecting that she will be rescued, but who is not found until it is too late, or one who takes what she thinks is a safe quantity of pills, but actually exceeds the number needed to end her life. When death occurs in these and similar circumstances, what we have are unsuccessful suicide gestures rather than successful suicides.

There is no doubt that some young people who end their lives intended to do so, because life was so bad for them that after careful consideration they decided that they would rather be dead. An example would be the teenager who spun a coil of the copper wire that she used in making junk jewellery, attached it to a metal bracelet on her wrist and threw it over the 24,000-volt electric line at a railway station. She died as the result of 75% burns.[11] However, some young people who die as the result of an apparent attempt to escape bullying by killing themselves might have been attempting nothing of the kind, in spite of what their actions suggest. Sometimes those who survive suicide attempts, or apparent suicide

attempts, explain that they wanted to 'be dead for a while'. The fact that some people who take apparently suicidal actions do so with the intention, merely, of getting away from it all for a while, is one reason that I think we should talk about suicide both to pupils in schools, and to young people in universities. They need to know, as all of us do, that death is at the end of a one-way street; that once you are there, there is no turning back. Another reason is that young people, like all of us, need to know that some demonstrations of upset, though they may be effective in drawing our distress to the attention of others, are also very dangerous if we wish to remain alive.

So, for example, everyone, including children, should know that paracetamol, an 'over-the-counter' painkiller, familiar to most people in my country, is not as innocuous as it might seem. Rather, it is an effective way of consigning oneself to an early death, though possibly a prolonged and distressing one, by damaging the liver so that death comes slowly. And everyone, including children, needs to know about the dangers of placing a ligature round ones' neck, or of jumping into a canal in winter. And they need to know about the dangers of drinking to excess on one's own at times of deep distress, especially for those who have entertained suicide in the past.

We should not shy away from talking to young people about suicide, because we are afraid of the possibility that we might 'put ideas in their heads'. My guess is that that broaching this most challenging of topics in schools and universities could significantly reduce both the numbers of people who die by their own hands each year, and the amount of human heartache that is caused to those who survive the suicidal deaths of loved ones.

Young people need to talk about suicide and the reasons that some people might see it as an option, because it is likely that at some point in their lives they will have contact with people for whom suicidal or apparently suicidal behaviour is a feature of life. The growth of web pages like Facebook and Bebo has had the dreadful result of encouraging online memorial sites for some young suiciders, almost as if the dead person was somehow benefitting from having killed him or herself, giving rise, at times, to the suspicion that such sites might influence some young people to act in suicidal ways.

Finally, young people need to be told about the part that bullying sometimes plays in inducing suicidal behaviour. And they need to know both how serious the effects can be if they engage in bullying, and how important it is for them to act in relation to situations in which they are aware that others are bullying, or being bullied.

Notes

[1] This paper develops ideas I first worked on in G Fairbairn, 'Suicide and Bullying in Schools', *New Era in Education*, Vol. 83 (2), 2002, pp. 34-36.

[2] G Fairbairn, 'Storytelling, Ethics and Empathy', *Ethical Space,* 2 (3), 2005, pp. 48-55.
[3] S Bird, 'Mother and Daughter's Ride to Escape Tormentors Ended in Fireball'. *Times Online* 18 September 2007 [Internet], Accessed 30th October, http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/crime/article6839267.ece.
[4] A Domańska, 'The Shadow in Our Schools', *Warsaw Voice* 20 December 2006 [Internet], Accessed 28th October 2009, http://www.warsawvoice.pl/view/13372/.
[5] S Bird, 'Holly Grogan, 15, Leapt to Her Death 'after Abuse from Facebook Bullies''. *Times Online 21* September 2009 [Internet], Accessed 20th October 2009, http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article6841908.ece.
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[7] PK Smith & Y Morita, 'Introduction', *The Nature of School Bullying: A Cross National Perspective*, PK Smith, et. al. (eds), London and New York, Routledge, 1999.
[8] D Olweus, 'Norway', *The Nature of School Bullying,* Ibid.
[9] A Wertheimer, *A Special Scar: The Experiences of People Bereaved by Suicide*, Routledge, London, 1991.
[10] See GJ Fairbairn, *Contemplating Suicide: The Language and Ethics of Self Harm*, London, Routledge, 1995.
[11] N Marr & T Field, *Bullycide: Death at Playtime*, Success Unlimited, 2001.

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Part 4:

Cultural Perspectives

Violence and Intimidation in Street-Level Drugs Trading

David Frances

Abstract
In this paper I describe the threatening and violent methods used by drug dealers to manage their customer relations, keep the competition at bay and discourage local people from reporting their criminal activity. I also relate some of the enterprising activities adopted by drug users to obtain money for buying drugs and point to the self-serving collusion of others, including operators of apparently respectable businesses. Involvement in drugs, particularly heroin and crack cocaine, arguably prevents young people from growing up, trapping them in a squalid and violent, extended adolescence. The Scottish government's treatment programme, currently under review, is largely restricted to prescribing the heroin substitute methadone, which is itself addictive and often does little more than keep users stable for a few hours between fixes. Our criminal justice system is clogged up with drug-dependent thieves. Domestic abuse is rife and female addicts often suffer the additional risks associated with prostitution. Yet for many people, there is no way out. I speak about those who find it utterly impossible to break away from drug-taking when everything and everyone around them reminds them of their addiction and threatens their desire to change.

Key Words: Bullying, drug addiction, drug dealing, intimidation, violence.

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1. Fear

This paper is about bullying and abuse of power in the context of the illegal drugs trade in my home city of Edinburgh. I have to warn you that it is not based on academic or professional research, but rather on anecdotal evidence, most of which has been provided by drug users, who, it has to be said, are not best known for their honesty. Nevertheless, I hope you will find something to believe in what I tell you, and I hope that in some small way my story may link in with your own thoughts on the subject.

My son, Martin, is a very talented craftsman builder. He is creative and artistic. He is a loving father of his daughter, my granddaughter, and he spends time with her almost every weekend. He is a caring partner to his new girlfriend, and he is quite good at looking after their dog. Martin is fundamentally a good person, but he is also a heroin addict and for much of the last nine years he has lived in a twilight world of squalor, violence and fear. At the moment he is clean and he is trying his very best to rebuild a normal, drug-free life.

Martin has always talked with me about the things that go on in his life and in his street, among the heroin dealers and users. His street is situated close to the

centre of Edinburgh and consists almost completely of one-bedroom flats, sixteen of them in a common stair, four to a landing, all behind a single front door; Edinburgh's version of high-density housing. Most of the flats are rented by housing associations to single people and couples, some young, some elderly.

Martin has spoken about the atmosphere of intimidation that hangs about the place. This is bullying of a primitive and brutal kind. Many of those who live there do so under a constant threat that they must do what is expected and what they are told, otherwise their lives are in danger. Criminals who are involved in the drugs trade need to feel in control of their streets in order to continue trading successfully. They make it their business to know what is going on, and anyone who dares to inform on them to the police or steal from them or cross them in any other way does so knowing that they are in for a serious beating or worse.

In recent years, there have been two murders and numerous beatings in the area. My son has existed, sometimes for months on end, in fear for his life, after upsetting some-or-other dealer or some-or-other hard man. What happens is that he hears on the grapevine that someone is after him. Within days everybody he meets on the street is telling him that this person is going to beat him or stab him or kick him in or have him shot. It is difficult to know whether these people are trying to help him or terrify him. But most of them are living on the edge and maybe they are just relieved that it is someone else who is under threat at that moment. Whatever their motives, the result is clear to see. And whereas I feel secure in my house just a couple of miles away, Martin has often sat cowering, terrified, in his own home, knowing that at any moment his front door could fly open and within seconds he could be lying on the floor in a pool of blood. That is an extreme level of fear, one I have difficulty contemplating, but one that my son has had to sustain over prolonged periods. It is hardly surprising that he has been unable to stop using drugs at these times, when the few minutes after the hit of his heroin were the only moments in his life when everything felt okay.

On one occasion quite recently Martin bumped into a person who was after him in a local shop. This man was clearly surprised too and was about to walk past him out of the shop, maybe to go away or maybe to wait for him, out of sight, around the corner. This was a big, hard man. Martin is smaller than me and I do not condone it, but he decided on this occasion to seize the initiative and challenged the man to fight him, there and then, outside the shop, with fists. Of course he took a bad beating but at least it brought his ordeal to a conclusion.

When he enters the common stair that he lives in, Martin habitually runs to the first corner. This allows him to surprise anyone who might be lying in wait for him. It also gives him time to turn back and get out into the street before the door shuts behind him.

2. Abuse

It is not just the dealers who bully. Drug users can behave very badly and very selfishly. Their lifestyle keeps them trapped in a kind of extended adolescence, overwhelmingly engaged in the pursuit of drug-taking and in finding the means to continue that pursuit. They tend to sleep in the daytime and become active at night. They do not necessarily intend to intimidate their elderly neighbours who are trying to sleep while they slam doors, play loud music, shout, argue and fight. It is just that they are living in their own little bubble and they do not care. And the elderly people have learned that it is better not to complain either, to their tormentor or to the authorities, because to do so would only make matters much worse for them.

Drug users are also terribly accident-prone. They have falls. They set fire to bedding, leave taps running and pans burning on the hob. They have road accidents. They get punched, beaten and stabbed. They overdose. So, nighttime is very often interrupted by sirens and visits by the police, ambulance and fire services. For the neighbours, it is not a peaceful environment.

Domestic abuse is a very serious problem in Scotland. It is closely associated with the prevalent culture of heavy drinking. I have not heard that male heroin users treat their partners any worse than drinkers do. However, many heroin users are also drinkers, and female drug users are particularly vulnerable to abuse if they are living with or associating with that kind of person. Children are also extremely vulnerable to neglect and abuse and although there are few children living in my son's area because of the small size of the houses, there have been several very high-profile cases in other areas where young children have suffered or even died at the hands of addicted parents and carers.

3. Funding

For all addicts, their first and only vital task is to get hold of the money to buy their next fix. As teenagers they will steal from their mother's purse and from the jar that their granny keeps up on a high shelf. Through time, the family will realise what they are up to and will make efforts to stop the cash from disappearing, £10 or £20 at a time. But then the user is likely to become more abusive and will start using pressure and moral blackmail to obtain money from his family. Sooner or later the parent will be told, as I was, that a dealer is owed money and it must be handed over, immediately; that these are serious people, and you do not mess around with them. You are told that your child's life is in danger, and that if you do not help him he will be forced to go out and do something illegal and hazardous in order to save his skin. And what parent would refuse to help the child that they love, who finds himself in such desperate circumstances? The answer, of course, is the parent who has heard it all before, the parent who has realised that their beautiful child has turned into an addict and a liar and a thief. It is desperately difficult to refuse to help him because you know that the consequences could be

dire. But you also know that you have been deceived and bullied into colluding with him to maintain his addiction and, eventually, you have decided that it has to stop. Of course, it is then that the young person realises he hates you so much that he has to leave home and go live in a cheap flat with his mates.

Finding the money for the next fix is relatively easy in the early stages of addiction. The user may still have a job and £20 a day is not so difficult to find when he is earning a wage. But before long, £20 is not enough. Jobs tend to be lost and other ways have to be found. And so, if you were a drug user, you would be likely to find yourself borrowing from your mates, from your family or anyone else who will give you the time of day; borrowing from banks, credit cards and finance companies, until they will lend you no more; pawning your belongings, until you have nothing left to pawn; pawning other people's belongings, intending of course to return them to the owner at the first opportunity but never actually succeeding; wheeling and dealing, begging, stealing, house-breaking, selling drugs or running errands for the dealer, selling your body for sex.

4. Collusion

Many of these activities involve the user trading with legitimate or semi-legitimate businesses, which in my opinion cynically exploit them and make profit from the drugs trade without running the risk of actually selling drugs. For example, the scrap merchant around the corner will buy any old iron, lead, copper or aluminium, no questions asked. And the corner shop, which stocks an extensive range of wines and spirits, has bought most of them from local drug users for £2 a bottle, stolen, of course, from the other shops in the area. The owner of that shop is also in the market for stolen laptop computers.

Then there is the 'Cash Provider' type of store. These smart, brightly lit outlets offer to buy and sell nearly new products, including televisions, hi-fis, cameras, musical instruments, that sort of thing. They will gladly buy your worldly goods for a fraction of their value, with the enticing offer that you may buy them back at some point in the future, provided that in the meantime, you return each month to pay a fee to enable them to withhold your items from sale to the public. This is pawn-broking in all but name, but cleverly avoids the need to comply with Consumer Credit legislation. Therefore, unlike pawnbrokers, these stores are able to charge interest of 300% per annum. Large, international companies operate them. You will find them on every high street in the United Kingdom and, I daresay, around the globe. They prey on poor people, generally, and drug addicts, in particular. My son has pawned many times over his record decks and mixer, his games console, his hi-fi, bike, and even his work tools. He has spent a fortune in fees and interest payments but has still eventually lost most of them forever.

Prostitution in Edinburgh is also operated from shops, usually off the main roads but never hidden away. These shops are tolerated by the authorities and operate legally as saunas but everybody knows that they are brothels. I have

spoken with one sauna owner, one sex worker and one person who admitted to making use of their services. The owner boasted that 'his' girls are all professionals who enjoy the freedom that they have gained from their high earnings. The worker and client told a different story; that most of the women are addicted to crack cocaine or heroin or both, and are trapped in the sex business by their need for more and more money to pay for more and more drugs. Of course, prostitutes are particularly vulnerable to being controlled and bullied by their pimps and minders. But those who work on the streets are in even more danger from clients and others.

Businesses like those I have described have developed a vested interest in the continued wellbeing of the illegal drugs trade and the impression I have is that the less legitimate their activities, the more likely they are to adopt the bullying tactics used by dealers themselves. The drug users who trade with them become trapped in a vicious circle of debt, anxiety, crime, danger and increased drug use.

5. Treatment

The authorities in Scotland, including Health, Social Services and Justice, are well-meaning enough, but they do not have the resources to tackle effectively the problems that result from drug addiction and the illegal drugs trade. Every night, Edinburgh's police cells are full of drug users who have been caught housebreaking, stealing, fighting or possessing drugs. The courts are clogged up with these cases and many of the offenders are repeating the same type of crime, time after time.

Over the years the Scottish government's policy on heroin addiction has progressed from promoting abstinence to harm reduction, and now the emphasis is on what they call 'recovery within the community'. Notwithstanding these developments, the treatment has remained basically the same for many years, and it is based on the prescription by general practitioners and treatment services of the heroin substitute, methadone. Some heroin addicts are able to use methadone to reduce and eventually stop taking heroin. But others are not capable of that and constantly fail to stop or simply use the methadone to keep themselves stable between fixes of the real thing. Methadone is at least as addictive as heroin. It carries risks of its own, including the risk of overdose and there have been some extremely tragic cases where young children have died from overdose after getting hold of their parent's medication.

The prospect of effective detoxification and residential rehabilitation is held out to some of the most seriously addicted patients but they have to jump through so many hoops on the way that almost all fail in the attempt. I have heard that while an addict is on the waiting list for rehab he must abstain from using heroin and prove it by providing clean samples every week, however long it takes. This is nothing less than 'Catch 22'. If they could stay clean for several months they probably would not need the rehab. Meanwhile, many of the businesses and charitable trusts who provide detoxification and rehabilitation places are closing

down or operating at reduced capacity, because many authorities are no longer prepared to refer addicts to them for treatment.

6. Entrapment

I have been describing the process through which problem drug use leads to addiction, crime, fear, violence and squalor. Tragically, it is often impossible for the heroin addict to break out of that world, because everything and everyone in it reminds him of his addiction, and nobody around is prepared to let him escape, far less help him on his way, because they are living in the same small, squalid world themselves. It is a bit like finding a spider trapped in a bath. You have several choices. You could leave it alone to run around the bottom. You could remove it and put it outside into the cold. You could squash it. You could flush it down the drain. Or you could provide a means of escape by draping a towel down into the bath. The addict is about as popular and about as trapped as that spider and equally in need of a lifeline to make his escape.

Many of the people I have been talking about have grown up in poverty and deprivation, in the midst of a materialist world where they see all around them ignorant, greedy people abusing their power to advance their own interests. Bullying exists throughout society but I have no doubt that the abusive lifestyle described in this paper is caused to a considerable extent by the poor conditions and life experiences of the people concerned. Drugs provide a temporary escape, more and more fleeting as addiction progresses. Recovery from drug dependency is a long, hard struggle in the face of adversity and public hostility.

7. Escape

Attention must now be paid to the needs of new generations of young people, to give them confidence to avoid involvement in violent behaviour and drug-taking. Children all deserve opportunities to cooperate with one another and experience the joy of singing and playing music together, playing sports or working with each other in other ways. They all deserve opportunities to experience adventures in environments far away from their immediate surroundings, climbing mountains or sailing or flying, for example. If every child could experience awe at first hand they would grow up less self-centred and less cynical. Children need chances to mix with people from other backgrounds, to learn that different is good, not something to be feared or despised. They need to have around them teachers, including schoolteachers, who are not bullies themselves but are capable of inspiring children to care for themselves and care for other people. Every child needs to learn how to escape the little boxes and the small worlds in which bullying festers.

David Frances is the father of three amazing children. Martin, the one who features in this paper, has read and endorsed its contents. David owns a small construction business in Edinburgh, Scotland.

Bullying Japanese Style

Jerry Cusumano

Abstract
This paper attempts to make clear some characteristics of bullying in Japan. Following a brief survey of the early history of bullying in Japan, I consider several unique cultural factors, then several psychological factors that seem to be peculiar to Japan as well as forms of therapy unique to Japan which rely more on non-verbal communication (sandplay and so on). Finally I make some comments on government policy, and I conclude with five points I think are especially salient in Japanese bullying and may differ from those of other countries and cultures.

Key Words: *Amae* (dependency), father absence, group pressure, *ijime* (bullying), psychotherapy, sandplay.

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1. Introduction

After some preliminary considerations about the history and prevalence of bullying in schools in Japan and several important court cases, I will consider three points: cultural factors, psychological factors, and government policy.

A. History

Yoji Morita provides a capsule view of the early history of bullying in Japan, which I will review by decades.[1]

1970-80: Emphasis was on school violence and how to prevent it. However, there were teachers who already at this time pointed out that there was also *yowaimono no ijime* (bullying of the weak). This was already a common phenomenon in Japanese society, but these teachers warned that the current phenomenon was different because of the duration and cunning involved.

1980-90: The media began to focus on bullying because of the suicides of seven pupils in 1984 and nine in 1985, all of which were due to bullying. In 1987 the Ministry of Education reported in its 'annual fact-find on problem behaviour in school' that the occurrence of bullying in schools had decreased greatly over two years: 150,000 in 1985, 50,000 in 1986, and 35,000 in 1987.

1990-2000: In 1994 the Ministry of Education conducted a survey of 9,420 schools on bullying.[2] A few points relevant to this paper are the following. Verbal and indirect (e.g. exclusion from group, ignoring etc.) bullying were much more frequent than physical bullying, especially among girls. Bullying by more than one aggressor was almost 75%. Almost 50% of victims described their aggressors as close or ordinary friends. In response to the bullying, while 40% told their aggressors to stop, 30% reported keeping quiet and letting the bullies do what they

wished. This, of course, guarantees a continuation of the bullying.[3] Of those parents who knew their child was being bullied and did not report it to teachers over 50% said that bullying is not a problem serious enough to bring to the attention of teachers, an attitude common to parents around the world.[4]

Bullying made a resurgence in the mid 1990s with ten cases of suicide from bullying reported in 1995 along with 57,000 cases of bullying reported in schools. In response, the Ministry of Education placed one school counsellor in each public junior high school, where problems associated with school refusal syndrome and bullying were most severe. This was the first national-level counselling and psychotherapy service in Japan. By the year 2000, 2,250 junior high schools employed at least one certified clinical psychologist on a part-time basis.[5] Current data on bullying in Japan published after Morita's research (July 2009) showed that of the more than 40,000 schools surveyed, 47% reported knowledge of bullying at the school. The number of bullying incidents reported was a little over 100,000 meaning an average of 2.5 per school.[6]

B. Court Cases

Two important court cases called national attention to the bullying problem.[7] The first court case in which bullying in the form of mental harassment was recognised as a cause of suicide was in December 1986 when a 13-year-old boy committed suicide. He left a note saying he could not bear the mental and physical bullying any longer. The first court to rule on the case, the Tokyo District Court, recognised only the physical violence of the aggressors. However, the parents appealed the decision to the Tokyo High Court. It overturned the previous ruling, recognising mental bullying as a cause of the suicide and ordering the parents to pay damages. A second well-known case called attention to a specifically Japanese aspect of bullying - the power of the group. In 1994, a 13-year-old boy committed suicide in Aichi Prefecture. In a suicide note he said that the group of 'friends' had assaulted and threatened him many times and extorted over $8,000 US dollars (around £5,300) from him over two years. The other members of the group put up a façade of friendly horseplay to deceive teachers. In later instances of bullying that led to death it would be pointed out that many young Japanese do not know how to draw the line between playfulness and violence.[8]

2. Cultural Factors

In this section I will review some factors that seem to be culturally specific to Japanese bullying.

A. Feminine Nuance

Perhaps one of the big differences with other countries and cultures is that in Japan bullying is not viewed as a 'macho' boy's thing.[9] In fact, Japanese women use this word rather freely to describe women's interactions among themselves. In

Japan, bullying is often an invisible phenomenon against the weak and is more prevalent among girls in the form of ignoring or exclusion than in other countries.

B. Family Influence

Another strong cultural factor is the change in family life in Japan. Komori, Miyazato and Orii have pointed this out:

> The enormous Japanese economic growth has required an increase in the labor population and, at the same time, the number of nuclear families has increased. The number of workaholic husbands and double-income families has also increased while the number of children per family has decreased. These changes certainly have led to the fragility of the Japanese family in both urban and rural populations.[10]

Coupled with this new and fragile family configuration - in many ways weaker and less supportive of children than the previous generation of extended family with parents who had more time for their children and had more children - is the added burden of the Japanese educational system. The system has been criticised by many Japanese psychologists as being too uniform and rigid, with extreme pressure demanding conformity, and too narrowly focused on academic success,[11] all of which leads to an attempt to produce 'good boys and girls' at the expense of fostering individuality; children are valued only if they succeed academically.[12]

C. Randomness

Okuhisa, comparing contemporary bullying in Japan with previous periods in Japanese history, notes that one difference is that in previous times bullies had some kind of subjective determination and reason behind their acts, whereas now that does not seem to be the case.[13]

D. Group Pressure

A fourth Japanese cultural characteristic is the large number of bullying cases that involve groups. Morita emphasised this aspect when he included purposely in his own definition of bullying the terms 'group-interaction process,' and 'inside a group'.[14]

3. Psychological Factors

In this section I will look at psychological factors that are either peculiar to the Japanese or are more prevalent in Japan than in other countries.

A. Japanese Characteristics

IBASHO: An unusual concept in Japanese psychology is that of *ibasho* (one's psychological place). Norisada divides this into four factors: sense of authenticity, sense of role, sense of perceived acceptance, sense of relief.[15] A finding that may be related to bullying is that sense of authenticity and relief increases steadily from junior high to university in males but decreases for females. This may account for the high number of girls involved in bullying in Japan and why exclusion is such a potent form of bullying in Japan. Being victimised in this way can lead to suicidal thoughts.[16]

KIRERU/MUKATSUKU: Psychoanalysts in Japan have pointed out that many young Japanese grow up with a narcissistic outlook that is often shattered in school because of not living up to expectations of parents or not getting the best grades.[17] As a result of this, they often experience *kireru or mukatsuku* (flying off the handle), which often results in *ijime*. Such irritation comes from children who have no time for freedom and spontaneity.[18]

AMAE: Another well-known characteristic, often seen as unique to the Japanese, is that of *amae* (dependence). Doi, who first articulated the concept in Japan,[19] defined it as the desire to be passively loved, especially by the mother, and the unwillingness to cope with the objective real world. Kosawa further developed the idea.[20] He proposed that Japanese neurosis comes from trying to repress this need for dependency on the mother because of disbelief in the mother's endless love. It should be pointed out that *amae* is different from adolescent depression - another possible psychological factor in bullying, but one that does not seem to be different in Japan from other countries.[21] The characteristic of *amae* may explain why Japanese are so often passive in the face of bullying. Smith, Shu and Madsen argue that:

> Many children experience some teasing and harassment in their early school years, but that continued harassment is likely only with those who fail to cope in satisfactory ways and get into a reinforcing cycle of poor coping, low self-esteem, lack of protective friendships, and vulnerability to further bullying.[22]

B. Japanese-Style Psychotherapeutic Interventions

Suzuki and other Japanese counsellors have found an empowerment model of counselling useful in helping victims of bullying.[23] This model's approach to empowerment employs four stages: strength perspective, education, encouragement, and collaboration. Suzuki provides five case examples.[24] In a chart summarising the interventions in each category for each client, she gives examples of how she did each step. For example, in case one for an intervention she made in the category of strengths, she noted that although the student had not been able to make friends in middle or high school, nevertheless he had continued in school. In

step two for education, she attempted to change the fixed idea that one should not fight back. In the third step, she recommended verbal retorts as a way of fighting back, and for the fourth step, she talked over making time to be alone while in school.

In a review on social support in Japanese schools, Mizuno and Ishikuma concluded that counsellors should make great efforts to establish peer-support systems for children, especially the older ones.[25] Tanaka reports on grief counselling used for the parents of a high-school student who was beaten to death by fellow students.[26] The school maintained contact with the parents for four years, the time the student would have graduated. In a study of 490 students in four schools, Onishi found that students in classes that reported they were less likely to bully had stronger norms against such behaviour. He suggests that sharing values against bullying and abuse in the classroom can be effective in decreasing bullying.[27] Komori, Miyazato and Orii describe a technique for helping troubled children that centres on the mother recording family conversation as if it were a scenario and then reviewing it with child and therapist in the next session, pointing out the child's positive emotions and pleasure.[28] This is typical of Japanese types of interventions, which tend to de-emphasise direct verbal interactions with the therapist. Sandplay techniques are also popular in Japan because, as Iwakabe notes, many Japanese are uncomfortable discussing personal problems or expressing their feelings directly to a counsellor/therapist.[29]

4. Government Policy

In this section I will explain the measures that the Japanese Ministry of Education and other government agencies have taken concerning this problem. This includes setting up regional trauma centres designed to aid schools in the event of bullying-related suicides as well as providing for third-party investigation into school suicides to determine if they were caused by bullying.[30] The Ministry defined bullying in 1994 as: 'Regardless of the place, whether it be at school or elsewhere, bullying occurs when one child continuously attacks a weaker child physically or psychologically to the point that the one attacked feels intense pain'.[31]

In 2007 the Ministry of Education compiled a long list of examples of how various schools had been dealing with the problem of *ijime*.[32] Some of these included for example the following: Every day a different teacher or staff member would observe carefully the students as they came and left school. Other schools used a team approach consisting of counsellor, homeroom teacher and so on to deal with problems of *ijime*. Still others began to ask students to write a diary each day of their activities and thoughts/feelings. Another school distributed to all students a 'rights card' to heighten their awareness of individual rights, especially in the face of *ijime*. Olweus has suggested a similar stance.[33] By placing these and other

examples online, the Ministry hopes to provide a variety of methods which can be adopted by each school and adapted to its situation.

5. Conclusion

Some aspects of bullying that seem peculiar to the Japanese are:

- The feminine colour to both the language and methods used for bullying.
- The strength of peer pressure that keeps victims in groups in which they are being bullied.
- The psychological background of dependence and 'entitlement' of young people.
- A school system that creates frustrations in students who are academically challenged and creates robotic 'yes-men' in academic achievers.
- A father-absent family system that lacks necessary discipline.

How Japan will cope with bullying in the future remains to be seen.

Notes

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Greek Students' Perception of School Bullying: The Profiles of Victims and Perpetrators

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Abstract
This paper reports on a large-scale project that aimed to study school violence in Greek schools in relation to the formation of gender and cultural identity. The objectives of the study were to explore the frequency and types of bullying; the characteristics of school bullying; the profile of victims and perpetrators; and victims' reactions to bullying. In total 214 male and female students from primary and secondary schools participated in the study. The results indicated that bullying is a widespread phenomenon in Greek schools. Significant age, gender and ethnic differences were noted in terms of the types and frequency of bullying, characteristics of victims and perpetrators and reactions to bullying. Bullying appears to be related to male identity, low academic performance and provocative behaviour, while victimisation is connected to female identity, high academic performance and different ethnicity. A major implication of the study is the significance of raising awareness about bullying among parents and teachers.

Key Words: Age, bullying, gender, victimisation, victims.

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1. Theoretical Background

During the last decade there has been a growing interest in the social phenomenon of school bullying in Greece. Recently, a large-scale research project funded by the Greek Ministry of Education was conducted in primary and secondary schools across Greece.[1] The project aimed to study school bullying in relation to the formation of gender and cultural identity. The study reported here formed part of this programme.

According to Olweus, school bullying or victimisation is defined as:

> A student is being bullied or victimised when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students.[2]

The basic characteristic of bullying is that it includes repeated aggressive acts. According to Solberg and Olweus, an aggressive act is considered as bullying when it happens at least 2 to 3 times a month and one or more times a week.[3] Another basic element is the intention of the perpetrator to harm the victim. Additionally, between the perpetrator and the victim exists an imbalance of power,

and bullying episodes can be expressed either by one student or by a group of students. Finally, bullying happens at specific places of the school building, most commonly in the playground during break time.[4] School bullying can be either direct or indirect and can take physical, verbal, social and sexual forms.[5] In studies of school bullying, findings suggest that girls and boys engage in bullying behaviors through different ways. The expression of direct forms of school bullying is more common among boys, while girls use more verbal and indirect forms.[6] Additionally, age may influence the frequency of particular types of school bullying and may have a significant effect on bullying behaviours.[7]

In order to design effective intervention programmes it is important to recognise the features that characterise typical bullies and typical victims. According to most studies, bullies appear to have positive self-image, physical strength and social skills.[8] Contrary to this, victims have a high sense of insecurity, usually lack the appropriate social skills to defend themselves and have few friends. Studies that have examined victims' reactions have found that victims tend to withdraw from bullying situations and there is evidence that gender and age may influence victims' reactions.[9]

2. Aims of the Study

The study aimed to explore bullying through the self-reporting of primary and secondary school students. It looked at the frequency and types of bullying episodes in Greek schools; certain characteristics of school bullying, such as the duration and place of bullying episodes; the profile of victims and perpetrators in relation to gender, ethnicity, age, behaviour and academic performance; and victims' reactions to bullying. Furthermore, the study explored the effect of factors such as gender and age on children's perceptions about bullying and victimisation.

3. Methodology

A total of 214 boys and girls aged 11-12 years old and 15-16 years old participated in the study. Of these, 107 boys and girls came from primary schools and 107 boys and girls came from secondary schools. The students came from urban, semi-urban and rural districts in the Thessaloniki area. The procedure was an individual questionnaire based on The Revised Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire Senior, and the Rigby and Slee Pro-Victim Scale (PVS), which were adapted to the Greek context and language. The questionnaire was called *Life in School* and consisted of 39 closed questions with answers provided on a Likert scale. For the purposes of the study, only questions from the above questionnaires that were relevant to the cases and goals of the research were used. Data analysis was based on statistical methods, specifically a chi-square test to explore the influence of the independent variables of sex and age.

4. Results

One aim of the study was to identify the types and frequency of school bullying. Specifically, 19.6% of primary students reported being victims of direct verbal bullying behaviour, while 12% reported that other pupils had systematically spread rumours about them. Meanwhile, secondary-school pupils experienced different types of school bullying. Specifically, 15% reported they had been bullied in some way. Additionally, 13.1% reported they had been systematically socially excluded or systematically exposed to racial bullying and that other students had repeatedly stolen money from them. In addition, at the level of secondary education, sex differences were indicated. Specifically, 12% of boys compared with 5.3% of girls reported having been physically victimised, while 20% of boys compared with 5.3% of girls reported having been systematically teased by their classmates. In addition, 12% of boys reported having been systematically threatened by other students compared with 5.3% of girls, and 22% of boys reported being called racist names compared with 5.3% of girls.

In reference to places of bullying, the vast majority of primary students reported being bullied in the schoolyard, compared with 62.9% of secondary-school students. Additionally, 70.7% of primary victims had been bullied in the corridors of their school compared with 25.8% of secondary-school students. More secondary-school students (8.1%) reported being victimised somewhere else, the majority saying they had been bullied in some other location besides school. In reference to the duration of bullying episodes, 62.7% of primary students and 55.2% of secondary students said their victimisation lasted between one and two weeks, while 22% of secondary students reported that their victimisation lasted a couple of years.

Another purpose of the study was to explore the characteristics of perpetrators and victims of school bullying. Specifically, according to victims' personal experiences, 56% of primary victims reported that the perpetrator was from the same class as them. In reference to the sex of the offender, 36% of boys and girls from primary schools reported having been bullied by one boy. Moreover, 48% of these victims reported that the perpetrator was an indigenous Greek child. The data from secondary schools showed that 41% of victims reported being the same age as the perpetrator and that the perpetrator was a classmate. Additionally, 27.4% reported being victimised by one boy and 24.2% reported being victimised by a group of boys and girls. In reference to the perpetrators' ethnicity, 32.3% of secondary students reported that the perpetrator was an indigenous Greek child and 19.3% that the perpetrator was of a different ethnicity to themselves.

Victims were also asked to describe the characteristics of a generic bully. According to the children, those who tend to bully other children have the following characteristics: In total, 58.1% of primary students and 43.5% of secondary students described single boys as most likely to be bullies. Furthermore, 48.6% of primary students and 30.6% of secondary students reported that bullies

usually are ill mannered towards their classmates, while 47.3% of primary students and 33.9% of secondary students reported that bullies tend to have low academic achievement, and 43.7% of primary students and 32.3% of secondary students reported that bullies cause trouble in the classroom. The statistical tests indicated significant age differences in reference to the perpetrators' characteristics; more victims from secondary schools (24.2% compared with 6.8% of primary students) reported that those who bully are of a different ethnicity to their victims.

Another important focus of the study was the exploration of victims' reactions to bullying. According to the results, 52% of primary students and 56.5% of secondary students ignored the incidents of bullying. Meanwhile, 65.3% of victims from primary school and 48.4 % of those from secondary school said the person they spoke to about their experiences was a friend, while a significantly lower percentage of primary students than secondary students (28% compared with 11.3%) reported having spoken to a teacher about the bullying. Sex differences occurred only in the context of secondary education. Specifically, 38.7% of boys said they had retaliated toward their bully, compared with 16.1% of girls, while 64.5% of girls said they had spoken to their friends about their experience, compared with 32.3% of boys.

When comparing data between primary and secondary schools, significant age differences arose. Specifically, 40% of victims from primary school, compared with 19.4% of those from secondary school, reported trying to protect themselves from the bullies. In contrast, 12.9% of boys and girls from secondary schools reported reacting to bullying in some other way. Female students tended to ignore the incidents and react with indifference, while male students tended to react with retaliation and aggressiveness towards the bully. Additionally, more pupils of primary school spoke to their teachers and/or parents about the bullying compared to children in secondary school, with 28% of primary students saying they had spoke to their teachers compared with 11.3% of secondary students, and 48% of primary students reporting having spoken to their parents, compared with 29% of secondary students. Furthermore, more secondary-school students than primary-school students (11.3% compared to 0%) said they had spoken to someone else about the bullying, with most saying they had discussed it with a close friend.

Finally, the study aimed to explore why bully victims believed they were being victimised. Specifically, 44.6% of primary-school students suggested they were targeted because they were good students and 45.2% suggested it was because they were girls. Significant sex differences were evident here. The majority of primary-school girls, 76.2% of them believed they were bullied because of their sex. On the contrary, 50% of primary-school boys suggested they had been bullied because they were boys, while the other 50% believed their sex was unrelated to their becoming a bully victim. Similarly, 40.3% of secondary students said they believed they were victimised because of their sex while 21% believed it was because of their high academic achievement. More girls than boys from the secondary schools

(67.7% compared with 37.7%) believed they had been victimised because of their gender. Significant age differences also occurred in relation to the reasons for victimisation. A greater proportion of primary-school students than secondary-school students (55.4% compared with 29%) reported that they believed they had been victimised due to their high academic achievement. On the other hand, more secondary-school students than primary-school students (17.7% compared with 2.7%) believed they had been bullied because they were from a different ethnic background to the bully.

5. Recommendations

Summarising, the results show that a significant percentage of Greek primary and secondary students are systematically bullied within their schools. School bullying can take different and multiple forms**.** As expected, the most common forms of school bullying in primary schools is verbal bullying and the spreading of rumours, while in secondary education social and racist forms of school bullying were more common. Surprisingly, other forms of bullying also appear to be prevalent among secondary-school students**.** When boys and girls were asked to specify this type of bullying, they indicated they had been exposed to a variety of bullying behaviours. Boys reported experiencing verbal bullying, sexual harassment and physical aggression. On the contrary, girls suggested they commonly dealt with repeated comments about their behaviour at school.

In reference to the duration of school bullying, although the majority of primary-school and secondary-school students reported that their victimisation lasted for a restricted period of time, a significant percentage of secondary-school victims reported that they had been bullied for a couple of years. The above results indicate the need and the importance of interventions to stop and prevent bullying at primary and secondary schools.

According to victims' personal experiences, bullying at school appears to be related to masculinity, low academic performance and provocative behaviour. The above results suggest that primary-school- and secondary-school-aged boys and girls construct bullies as a single boy with behavioural issues. This can be further explained in relation to the social construction of the hegemonic masculine identity at schools. According to Mills, boys who adapt this kind of identity have certain behavioural characteristics and wish to dominate girls and other boys who have different characteristics, such as a lack of athletic skills and high academic achievement.[10] Moreover, the results indicate that in the context of secondary education, bullying behaviour is related to cultural identity. A significant percentage of secondary-school students suggested they had become victims because they were of a different ethnicity to the bully. Traditional, stereotypical views strengthen the above perceptions.

These results require further study to explore the reasons and the intervening factors that influence the relation between ethnicity, bullying and

victimisation. It may be that racial bullying and racial victimisation are more prevalent among older pupils due to the process of constructing one's cultural identity. According to Phinney, this process is developmental and is influenced and determined by one's experiences.[11] Consequently, as boys and girls mature, they construct more firmly their cultural identity and additionally tend to indicate differences based on ethnicity more frequently.

In reference to victims' reactions towards bullies, the majority of primary-school- and secondary-school-aged victims reported ignoring and avoiding bullying incidents, in line to previous results. These results indicate that victims adapt strategies that involve avoidance of bullies and of bullying, which may not always be an effective coping strategy. Nevertheless, the fact that victims ask their friends for support is positive because, according to Sharp, Thompson and Arora, having friends at school plays a protective role against victimisation.[12] On the other hand, a small percentage of primary-school and secondary-school students reported having spoken to their teachers or somebody else from their school about the bullying. Future research is needed to explore the reasons victims often do not speak to their teachers about their experiences.

Moreover, Greek students perceived that being different in terms of sex and ethnicity established them as victims. Specifically, victimisation was related to the social construction of the female identity; more girls than boys believed that their sex made them vulnerable to aggression. The above perception is surprising given that, according to overall rates of victimisation in this study, boys were the most likely victim of all forms of school bullying. We need to explore further the social, school and domestic factors that construct and strengthen the perceptions of girls.

High academic performance and ethnicity were also related to perceptions of victimisation. Primary-school students believed that other children bullied them because they were good students. This has consequences for victims' school performance and for their attitude towards school and, therefore, deeper awareness of this issue is required. Additionally, secondary-school students believed they were vulnerable to victimisation due to their ethnicity, while secondary-school students believed the fact that they were from an ethnic minority was a major factor in their victimisation. Consequently, future interventions at Greek secondary schools should take this factor into account.

The results of this study also suggest certain dimensions of bullying in Greek schools need further investigation. For example, future research should explore further the relationship between school bullying and cultural identity in the context of secondary education through other methodological approaches, such as semi-structured interviews. This focus on boys' and girls' individual voices and subjectivities could shed more light on the deeper intervening factors that influence the relationship between bullying and ethnicity. Additionally, the relationship between bullying behaviour and the social construction of gender identities at school should be further explored through qualitative methods. Specifically, as

mentioned above, girls believe their sex influences their victimisation. Interviews may shed light on the factors that structure these beliefs, while a similar approach with boys may help us to better understand the factors that influence their victimisation.

The results relating to victims' reactions to bullying indicated that students felt insecure about speaking about their experience to teachers. The reasons for this insecurity must be examined through future research. Also, victims reported that they count mostly on their friends for support. This is an important dimension to school bullying and must be taken into account when implementing future interventions. Parents' views about awareness of school bullying and its characteristics could also add a significant dimension to our knowledge and contribute to helping us better understand the phenomenon.

To conclude, this study also has implications for the implementation of bullying intervention programmes in primary and secondary schools. These programmes may have a positive impact on raising awareness about bullying among parents and teachers. They may also help instil in boys and girls the appropriate skills to raise their self confidence and to enable them to cope effectively with bullying situations at their schools, taking into account the social construction of gender and cultural identities.

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The Perception of Postgraduate Students Regarding Workplace Bullying

Christoff Botha, Mariëtta Basson & Jan du Plessis

Abstract
Very little research has been done in Africa regarding bullying in the world of work or bullying in broader society. Workplace bullying is perceived as undesirable in organisations, has negative results for harmony in working relations and is caused by continuously negative acts. At its core, it can always be traced back to the abuse or misuse of power. In the introductory part of this study, the authors aim to measure the exact frequency of this phenomenon in the workplace. We view bullying in the workplace as a process that is influenced by organisational, individual and contextual factors and which has consequences for the perpetrator, victim and organisation. Regarding bullying in Africa, we want to determine prevalence, organisational factors, consequences, perceptions, leadership, cultural aspects, management perspective, antecedents, and perpetrator profile. The aim of this study is to establish the number of incidences, frequency of incidents and perception of enrolled MBA students on the occurrence of workplace bullying in their working environment. The population studied consists of all postgraduate students enrolled on the MBA programme with the Potchefstroom Business School in South Africa (N=276). Students were asked to complete a questionnaire on workplace bullying.

Key Words: Conditional probability, incidence, latent class models, perceptions, postgraduate students, prevalence, workplace bullying.

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1. Introduction

Bullying in the workplace is a process that is influenced by organisational, individual and contextual factors and which has consequences for the perpetrator, victim and organisation. Workplace bullying, at its core, can always be traced back to the abuse or misuse of power.[1] The bullying behaviours or negative acts include the assigning of meaningless tasks or the repeated reminding of mistakes, the deliberate withholding of work-related information or the prevention of access to training, disrupting the victim, the setting of impossible deadlines, teasing and insulting the victim and the public humiliation or accusation of lack of effort on the side of the victim. These bullying behaviours can respectively be sorted into five thematic categories namely destabilisation, isolation, overwork, threat to personal standing and threat to professional status.[2]

Baillien et. al. formulated a model consisting of three processes that trigger bullying: (1) active or passive inefficient coping with frustrations, (2) unsolved

interpersonal conflicts, and (3) team and organisational characteristics conducive to bullying.[3] At the origin of these processes may be individual and work-related antecedents that relate to the employee's coping style.[4] Counter-productive workplace behaviours can be predicted by higher levels of workplace bullying and there is a relationship between prolonged conflict and bullying.[5]

Workplace bullying caused by continuously negative acts is perceived as undesirable in organisations and has negative results for harmony in working relations.[6] Workplace bullying can trigger serious, persistent underlying disorders and has severe mental health repercussions.[7]

The person being bullied acts as an active interpreter of ambiguous stimuli; the person chooses how he/she is going to react.[8] Because some bullying starts out subtly, the victim does not always realise what is happening.[9] Simon describes the tactics of manipulators: their aggression is not obvious and victims find themselves unconsciously intimidated and cannot point to objective evidence; frequently their tactics are powerful deception techniques which keep the victim unconsciously on the defensive; clever manipulators exploit personal weaknesses and insecurities.[10]

2. Problem Statement

Workplace bullying is considered extremely disruptive with negative consequences. Even though it influences work life in a negative way, not much published research is available for the South African workplace. It appears there is a lack of understanding and support in the working environment. The absence of in-depth research and initiative to investigate this phenomenon gives rise to great concern.

3. Research Methodology: NAQ-R

Postgraduate students of the North West University, specifically those enrolled on the Masters in Business Administration (MBA), were asked to complete the Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (NAQ-R). The last question in this questionnaire gives a definition of bullying and the respondent indicates whether he/she is being bullied. The rest of the questionnaire encompasses statements regarding negative acts that occur in the workplace.

The responses to the NAQ-R can *inter alia* be evaluated using the operational classification method (OCM). If a person is being subjected to at least one negative event on a weekly or daily basis over a period of six months, the person is being classified as a victim.[11] In this way, a person's perceived experience of bullying can be compared to his/her experience of being subjected to negative acts.

4. Results and Discussion

A. Demographic

Of the population of 257, a total of 146 questionnaires were completed (the remaining students were absent on the day), indicating a response rate of 56.8%.

The average age of participants was 36.3 ± 6.8 years. Of the 146 participants, 97.9% were either full-time employed or self employed and 71.2% were male. The study population consisted predominantly of managers: 62.3% were middle managers and 21.2% were senior managers.

B. OCM

The distribution of answers to questions 1 to 21 on the NAQ-R questionnaire versus the self-report measure on bullying (question 23) are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Reported experience of negative acts in the work place compared to reported experience of being bullied in the work place.

	Experience of Negative Acts	Self-Reported Bullied
Answer categories		
Never	55.4%	78.6%
Now and then	29.5%	17.9%
Once a month	8.1%	2.1%
Once a week or more	7.0%	1.4%

In Table 1, the respondents' experiences of negative acts in the workplace are compared with their experience of being bullied. Although 78.6% of the respondents claimed that they were 'never' bullied, only 55.4% reported that they 'never' experienced negative acts in the workplace. Similarly, 17.9% of the respondents reported they were only 'now and then' bullied, whilst 29.5% reported that they experienced negative acts 'now and then'. Only 2.1% of the respondents reported that they were bullied 'once a month' compared with 8.1% who experienced negative acts 'once a month'. Only 1.4% of the respondents reported that they were being bullied 'once a week or more' in contrast to the 7% that reported that they experience negative acts 'once a week or more'.

C. LC models

The results for the two-class LC model on the data of the NAQ-R are given in Table 2. The values in brackets in the table are the standard errors. The question regarding physical violence was not considered during the latent class modelling.

For each group, Table 2 summarises the mean conditional probabilities (CP) obtained from the analysis. These mean conditional probabilities reflect the average probabilities that respondents in a given class will choose one of the four categories.

Respondents from the first class were characterised by a mean CP of 74% to have 'never' been subjected to any of the negative acts in the NAQ-R. They were therefore labelled as 'not bullied'. This class included 58% of the participants in the study.

The respondents of the second class were characterised by a high mean CP of 43.46% in the 'now and then' category and were therefore labelled as the 'sometimes bullied' class. Forty-two percent of the respondents belonged in this class.

Table 2: Mean conditional probabilities for four answer categories as a function of latent class type for the two class LC model.

	Clusters	
	Not Bullied	Sometimes Bullied
Percentage of Participants in Cluster	58.00	42.00
Answer Categories		
Never	.7444(0.18)	.2700(0.13)
Now and then	.2150(0.15)	.4346(0.10)
Once a month	.2800(0.04)	.1545(0.70)
Once a week or more	.1200(0.03)	.1428(0.90)

Figure 1 represents the conditional probability for the first 21 questions. These conditional probabilities reflect the probability that respondents in a given class would have chosen one of the four categories for each one of the questions.

The probability that a respondent in class 1 of the two-class LC model would answer 'never' to a question regarding the experience of negative acts in the workplace varied between 56% and 97%, except for statements regarding the withholding of information, doing work below competence level and having opinions and views ignored (See Figure 1).

It is clear from Figure 1 that the respondents who belong to class 2 of the two-class LC model experience negative acts predominantly 'now and then' but some experience negative acts 'once a week or more' (See Figure 1).

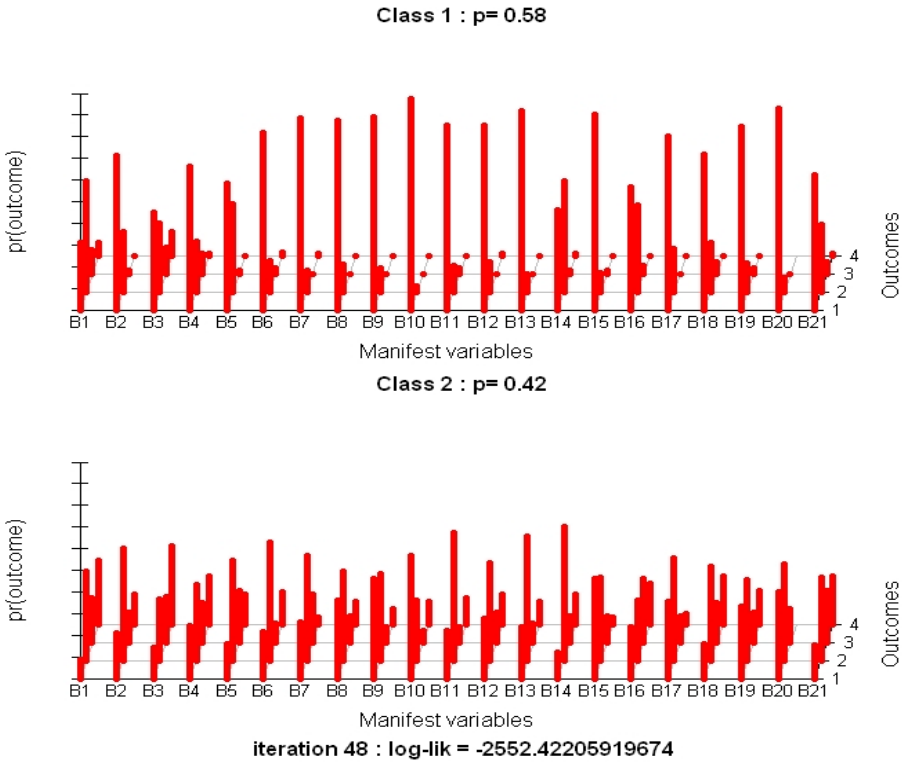

Figure 1: Conditional probabilities for the twenty one variables for the two class LC model

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Subjectively, only 1.4% of the 'victims' experienced being bullied whilst objectively 7% of the respondents were classified as being bullied using OCM. This corresponds to other studies where the frequency of bullying varies between 8% and 15% compared to 2% and 10% when subjective methods are used.[12] In the two-class LC model, the responses indicate a 74% probability to choose 'never' as an option. The class consisted of 58% of the respondents.

In future, the use of larger data sets will ensure that researchers are not restricted in terms of the number of classes that can be investigated, as Bartholomew and Knott confirm when they note that, 'It is known that models of this kind may have multiple maxima and the risk of this appears to increase as *K*, the number of classes, increases and to decrease with increasing sample size'.[13]

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Part 5:

Bullying at an International Level

The Repercussions of US Coercion on Turkish Foreign Policy in Two Case Studies: The Johnson Letter of 5 June 1964 and the Troop Deployment Proposal of 1 March 2003

Sarp Balci

Abstract
This paper aims to reveal the repercussions of US coercion on Turkish foreign policy and to demonstrate the setting of anti-American behaviour in Turkey as a product of long-term distortions implicit in a lasting and a structural relationship.

Key Words: AKP, Anti-Americanism in Turkey, 1 March 2003 Troop Deployment Proposal, İsmet İnönü, Johnson Letter, Lyndon Johnson, US foreign policy, Turkey.

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An important aspect of the Kemalist cadre, even before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, was the insistence on the principle of national sovereignty. Due to the negative legacy of the shameful relationship pattern of the late Ottoman rule with the Great Powers, the elitist and reformist Kemalists embraced the principle of national sovereignty to decide and act independently on issues related to national interests.

Although an anti-European/Western attitude dates back to the 1870s onwards, the Kemalist movement had the desire to adopt Western values and defended the principle jealously on the international arena.[1] However, there is a thin line between scepticism towards the Great Powers and being *against* those powers, and the Turkish experience is a good example of being in limbo.

1. The Road to Crisis

Following the Second World War, US and Turkish foreign policies strongly converged, due to each country's growing tension with the Soviet Union. For the US, hindering the possible Soviet expansion towards the Near East became a major concern. Since the US had become the successor to British foreign policy in the region, the declaration of the Truman Doctrine (March 1947) and the extension of the scope of the Marshall Plan (June 1947) were clear responses to Soviet intentions in the Near East and complied with the US's containment policy towards the USSR.

Turkey, on the other hand, was willing to renew the 1925 Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union by the end of the Second World War. Yet the Soviet rejection continued with a number of territorial concession demands, including the creation of a military base in the Dardanelles and the alteration of the Eastern border of Turkey in the Soviet's favour. Even in the course of the Second World

War, Turkey had chosen to act along with the West in general and the British in particular. Although, President İsmet İnönü had been averse to squabbling with Stalin, those demands paved the way for a firm alteration of Turkey's foreign policy preferences.

Instead of continuing to perform on a tightrope as they had done during the war, Turkish foreign policymakers became ready to take their side along with the US. Consequently, initiating a multi-party regime, joining the Korean War, taking part in the Council of Europe and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, applying for membership of the European Economic Community and accepting the NATO umbrella facilitated Turkey's new role as an ally on hand for US interests in the Near East. Thus, ideological reasons were secondary compared to the security estimations of Turkish governments.[2]

A major challenge for the close and complex relationship would be the coup d'état of 27 May 27 1960 which toppled the pro-American Democrat Party (DP) and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, and the unsuccessful attempts of 1961 and 1962. Although the new regime, established by the National Unity Committee and consisting predominantly of young officers, declared its commitment to the NATO Agreement and other international commitments of Turkey, an important line of reasoning of the coup was the direct US involvement in both domestic and foreign political decision-making processes. Along with scepticism towards the US, and overt support for the national independence movements of the period, the new regime persevered with the ongoing policy of being distanced to the northern neighbour, i.e. the Soviet Union.

2. The Johnson Letter

In 1964, Turkey declared her intention to exercise a unilateral military intervention towards Cyprus on the basis of its guaranteed rights to stop the ongoing inter-communal dispute on the island. However, the late Prime Minister İsmet İnönü's coalition government had been obstructed by the American President Lyndon B. Johnson on 5 June 1964 via a strongly worded letter that was delivered to İnönü by the then-US Ambassador to Ankara Raymond Hare. [3] The letter was not only a quick response by the US to stop a possible Turco-Greek war in the Near East, but was also a cut-off point for Turkish foreign policy. From that moment onwards, Turkish foreign policymakers had to revise their priorities and recall the complicated and bitter reminiscence of the late Ottoman era. Although, İnönü's experience on foreign relations had been tested on several occasions, such as with the Lausanne Treaty (1924) negotiations and the conference diplomacy of the Second World War, the letter had changed the basis of Turkey's foreign policy.

In the letter, President Johnson reminded İnönü that it was Turkey's undertaking to consult with the US before any such action was taken and added that an intervention towards Cyprus might result in the partition of the island, which was an option excluded by the Treaty of Guarantee. Furthermore, Johnson

made clear that military intervention towards Cyprus could possibly lead to direct involvement by the Soviet Union, and if Turkey decided to take such a step without the full consent and understanding of her NATO allies, she might be left alone.

Concomitantly, the US prompted the military assistance issue - better known as the Military Assistance Programme Agreements (MAP) - through which Turkey received a considerable amount of military equipment by bringing the post-war conjuncture into play. Yet, the use of military assistance for purposes other than those for which such assistance was furnished was prohibited according to bilateral agreements.

İnönü answered the letter on June 13 1964, stating that President Johnson's message had been received by his government and the unilateral intervention plan had been delayed accordingly. But he also mentioned Turkey's disappointment as an ally. Although Turkey attached great importance to the alliance with the US, the letter made it clear that there were fundamental disparities on various issues on both sides. Moreover, İnönü stated that the wording of the letter was considered as marked by time pressures.[4] İnönü also touched upon the legitimacy of such action and insisted on his approach as it was the right of Turkey, given by the Treaty of Guarantee, to stop the Greek Cypriot violation. He also criticised the way NATO would settle under US leadership and said that if NATO's structure was so fragile and gave credit to the aggressor's allegations, such a defect needed to be resolved.

In order to ease the tension and find a solution to the problem, Johnson invited the Turkish and Greek prime ministers to Washington; İnönü arrived in the city for a two-day visit on June 22 1964, and Greek Prime Minister Papandreou arrived the day after İnönü left. The two sides agreed on the appointment of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson as the mediator, yet the fate of the island was far from being definite.

During the 1960s, the rise of socialism expanded anti-American and anti-NATO attitudes among university students, intellectuals and workers, signalled by the publication of the weekly *Yön* (1961) and the establishment of the *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Turkish Workers Party, TİP, also in 1961), which were running an anti-American campaign throughout the country.[5] Consequently, President Johnson's response let the enunciators be heard calling for disentanglement with NATO and set in motion multilateralism in Turkish foreign policy. Therefore, through opening up a new path to develop scepticism against the US and a fresh perception towards 'other' geographies, the Johnson letter proved that Turkey's economic and political ties with the Soviet Union and the Third World had to be intensified.[6]

Still, the US continued to be Turkey's key partner in the region and the absence of any alternative other than the US compelled İnönü to instantly accede to Johnson's invitation to Washington.

3. March 1 2003: Troop Deployment Proposal

The rejection of the US proposal on deploying her troops in Turkey on March 1 2003 was another milestone in Turco-American relations. Many expected that the Troop Deployment Proposal would receive an affirmative vote in order to pave the way for 62,000 American troops and 320 aircraft to be deployed in south-eastern Turkey and to facilitate the upcoming US invasion of Iraq by opening a northern front.

The ruling *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party, AKP) insisted on demanding concrete backing of international support and legitimacy for a war on Iraq, yet, the US Administration was blind to such time-consuming efforts. The largely conservative popular base of the AKP - which brought about a susceptible base for Islamic and nationalist propaganda - and its Party Group within parliament were far from convinced in favour of a war, disregarding neighbourly relations and Islamic brotherhood. In addition to the popular disdain, agreeing to US demands to use force would underscore Turkey's outpost image for US interests in the Near East.

According to US policymakers, the 'tripod' was ready. Along with the newly established and convoluted structure of the AKP, the right connections within the major opposition RPP, and with its excessive influence on Turkish politics the NATO-instructed Turkish army, the fate of the troop deployment proposal was predictable for the Bush Administration. All that was needed was a little bit of 'encouragement'.

The negotiations with the US began under the scrutiny and under the direction of hardliners in the Turkish Foreign Ministry. They continued for months. According to Deniz Bölükbaşı then-leader of the Turkish negotiation delegation, Turkey informed the US delegation of four points of concern: (1) the territorial integrity and national unity of Iraq after the fall of the Saddam regime, (2) the rights of the Turkmens as being the third founding ethnic group in Iraq, (3) the natural resources of Iraq must be considered as belonging to the entire Iraqi nation and should be secured politically and legally, and finally (4) the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) was considered a threat to Turkey's security and had be thrown out of the region.

Although Western support for the separatist movement gave way to a profound suspicion among the general public, and the US presence by dint of the *Çekiç Güç* (Combined Task Force - Poised Hammer) was considered as more than beneficial to the PKK, Turkey wanted to be on the table subsequent to the War which would reshape Turkey's south-eastern border, owing to the close liaisons between the US and the Iraqi Kurds. Leaving the Americans and the Kurds alone at this juncture would be detrimental to the territorial integrity of Iraq, seeing that an independent Kurdish state would lead to the partition of Turkey.

The US, on the other hand, was chasing a guarantee of Turkey's full cooperation during the military operation and finalised the preparations for the

northern front without causing resentment among the Iraqi Kurds. Although the economic aspects of the negotiations were held as a parallel process to the political ones, the US was far from being tight-lipped and the details of the bargaining period reached the media in a degrading manner for the Turks. The US press portrayed the Turks as horse traders or hard-bargaining prostitutes given that billions of dollars of direct economic aid and credit were on the table to compensate for Turkey's economic shortfall.[7]

Parallel with the hastening anti-war protests all over Turkey, just before the voting on the proposal, the reflection of disgrace intensified the opposition against the proposal. Furthermore, all the bargaining and the carrot-dangling policies of the US were far from erasing the hurtful memory of the first Iraqi war, which had damaged the Turkish economy badly and created fertile ground for Kurdish separatist groups in the region. Although the negotiation team was ready to make a statement during a closed session of Parliament to inform and assure the representatives on the details of the settlement, the proposal was hampered by the silence of the Turkish General Staff,[8] the lack of a party group decision from the AKP Parliamentary Group, and the government's demand for the consent of the President, who was opposed to an operation from the beginning because of the uncertainty of its international legitimacy.

While the initial result was heralded as a majority vote, it actually received four votes less than needed. Thus it heralded the clash of the settlement reached after lingering negotiations and flattened the government's credibility. Meanwhile among the general public, most were proud that their parliament had stood firm against American pressure and joined the set of countries opposing a war that few saw as necessary at this point.[9] Moreover, its unilateralism towards Iraq moved many of its allies away from the US and warmed the ascending relations between the EU and Turkey.

The Bush Administration continued its plans to wage war in Iraq, yet the Turkish rejection increased the costs and the duration of war vis-à-vis the direct participation of a state with a Muslim population. Hence, the US's discontent turned into frustration. It made Turkey pay for this by wiping out the red tape put forward by Turkey's foreign policy and humiliating the Turkish Army during the *Çuval Hadisesi* (Hood Event). The event shattered Turkish national pride and its place in Turkish popular culture is legendary - it inspired a Turkish best-seller and a film, both of which fictionalise an armed struggle between Turkey and the US.[10]

4. The Impact of American Coercion on Turkish Foreign Policy

Coercion is an aspect of analyses within international relations and appropriate as it refers to systematic, intentional process of subjection in which the participants are not equally matched. Concomitantly, Turco-US relations bestow an actual basis for coercion, particularly in cases of the Johnson Letter of June 5 1964 and the rejection of the Troop Deployment Proposal of March 1 2003, as both incidents

indicate an obvious intention to humiliate and intimidate the Turkish foreign policy elite.

Although, such doggedness is inappropriate as the US has extensive experience in crisis bargaining, it is palpable that the US foreign policy pendulum is swinging in between idealist (liberal) and realist perspectives in spontaneity.[11] However, enough concrete evidence is associated with diminishing capacities in coercion and the excessive role of consent producing mechanisms.[12] Those two incidents, on the one hand, were crucial in repositioning Turkey in the international arena and restructuring the behavioural patterns of Turkish foreign policymakers. On the other hand, despite all the jargon vowing mutual respect, partnership and alliance, the impact of US coercion became apparent as a *force majeure* in determining Turkey's foreign policy, as the US policymakers insisted on changing the behaviour of Turkish policymakers and disregarding consensual practices.

Protection and ripening of the principle of national sovereignty was of precedence for the Kemalist cadres who reigned continuously until the end of the Second World War. That principle was questioned by the beginning of the Cold War, especially during the pro-US DP government, and the 1960 coup blamed the Menderes rule which accepted an unreciprocal, unequal relationship pattern with the US. However, the Johnson Letter remarkably articulated that the conjuncture was the determinant factor, and the nature of such a relationship with great powers generated circumstances in which the personalities became negligible. Accordingly, in the short run, Turkish foreign policymakers realised the importance of a self-sustained, multi-dimensional foreign policy and national defence systems as a vital part and parcel of securing national interests. In the long run, scepticism towards the US and increasing anti-Americanism among the general public resulted in initiating the first steps for a national defence industry.

Although the long-term effects of the rejection of the Troop Deployment Proposal are still unclear, the short-term implications were to bring Turkish public opinion to the top of the list on anti-American behaviour among the allies of the US. Respectively, the AKP continues to tackle the thorny issues of Turkish foreign policy, such as accession to the EU, the Armenian Question, the Cyprus dispute and the Kurdish Question. In doing so, on the agenda is a way of finding a remedy for the disparities and easing the unequal nature of its relations with the Great Powers and, in this case, the US.

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[7] For the details of the negotiations on economic aid package see D Bölükbaşı, *1 Mart Vakası: Irak Tezkeresi ve Sonrası*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 2008, pp. 68-75.
[8] Ibid., p. 77.
[9] Z Baran, 'Turkish Bravado versus American Bullying: A Clash of Civilizations?'[Internet];http://inthenationalinterest.com/Articles/vol2issue10/vol2issue10baran.html, Accessed 08/07/09.
[10] Cfr. the film *Kurtlar Vadisi Irak* (Valley of the Wolves Iraq) inspired by Orkun Uçar and Burak Turna's book *Metal Fırtına* (Metal Storm) published in 2004 by . See also the popular television series *Kurtlar Vadisi* (Valley of the Wolves).
[11] JD Berejikian & JS Dryzek, 'Reflexive Action in International Politics'. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 30-2, April 2000, p. 195.
[12] JD Berejikian, 'A Cognitive Theory of Deterrence', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39-2, March 2002, p. 181.

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The Abuse Clause in International Human Rights Law: An Expedient Remedy against Abuse of Power or an Instrument of Abuse Itself?

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Abstract
The Strasbourg organs of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) have developed a tradition of applying Article 17 ECHR, the so-called abuse clause, with regard to activities and expressions directed against the Convention's underlying values. The abuse clause's main rationale is to prevent states, groups or persons from invoking the rights and freedoms enunciated in the Convention, while being involved in actions aimed at the destruction of fundamental human rights. The application of this clause has become strongly connected to activities supporting National Socialism or Nazi ideology, particularly Holocaust denial. As a consequence, applicants involved in this kind of activities are at the Strasbourg level categorically denied the protection of Article 10 ECHR (freedom of expression), due to the application of Article 17. This radical *ex-ante* denial of protection of freedom of expression contrasts sharply with the traditional approach of the European Court of Human Rights, which implies a strict scrutiny of any interference in the right to freedom of expression, including an examination of the facts in the light of the case as a whole, taking into account all its relevant factual elements. The aim of this article is to show that the abuse clause's application is undesirable, and even risks making it an instrument of abuse itself.

Key Words: Abuse clause, abuse of rights, anti-Semitism, Article 10 ECHR, Article 17 ECHR, discrimination, European Court of Human Rights, freedom of expression, Holocaust denial, (racist) hate speech.

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1. Rationale of the Abuse Clause

The idea of an abuse clause in international human rights law originated after World War II. Simultaneously at national level, the basic laws of some of the protagonist Western European war states, which had been dramatically confronted with Nazism and fascism, expressed a concern about combating the 'enemies of democracy'.[1] At the international level, the abuse clause came to life with Article 30 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), and has since, in similar wordings, been inserted in various regional and international human rights instruments, such as the *European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR), which states in Article 17 that:

> Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the Convention.[2]

The prime reason for the existence of Article 17 ECHR is to give democracy the legal weapons to defend itself in order to prevent a repeat of history, particularly the atrocities committed in the past by totalitarian regimes attached to Nazi, fascist or communist ideas.[3] The Strasbourg organs have repeatedly recalled the 'general purpose' of the abuse clause 'to prevent totalitarian groups from exploiting in their own interests the principles enunciated by the Convention'.[4]

2. Applying the Abuse Clause v. Normal Judicial Treatment

Given that the bulk of the abuse clause's applications is related to contested utterances, we will clarify the difference between this application and the normal judicial treatment from the perspective of the right to freedom of expression enshrined in Article 10 ECHR. This right is not absolute, restrictions are normally allowed under the threefold condition that these are *prescribed by law*, pursue a *legitimate aim*, and, finally and most decisively, are *necessary in a democratic society* (Article 10.2 ECHR). This *necessity* must be judged 'in the light of the case as a whole, including the content of the remarks held against the applicant and the context in which he made them'. This examination generally consists of a *balancing of rights*, which takes into account all factual elements of the present case. In our view, this is a highly democratic way of working, especially as the Court also supervises the proportionality of interference with the legitimate aim pursued: even when state interference is found justifiable *an sich*, the sentence imposed should not be disproportionately heavy. If so, the interference is not *necessary in a democratic society*, which amounts to a violation of the treaty provision invoked (in our design, Article 10).[5]

Previous studies have consistently marked two ways in which the abuse clause has been applied so far.[6] On the one hand, it directly and immediately denied the applicant of any Article 10 protection (the 'guillotine effect'). Such a decision is purely content-based (there is no contextual examination), and on many occasions even *prima facie* (at first sight, in admissibility decisions), thereby leaving a very broad *margin of appreciation* to the member states. On the other hand, the abuse clause is regularly applied indirectly, as an interpretative aid when judging the necessity of interference under Article 10.2 ECHR.

3. Material Scope of the Abuse Clause

The Strasbourg organs systematically apply the abuse clause in a reaction to statements that support National Socialism or are inspired by this ideology. The

former European Commission of Human Rights (hereafter: the Commission) repeatedly emphasised that 'National Socialism is a totalitarian doctrine incompatible with democracy and human rights and its adherents undoubtedly pursue aims of the kind referred to in Article 17 of the Convention'.[7] For example, in *Kühnen v. Germany* (12 May 1988), in which a revival of the NSDAP was advocated, the Commission, considering that the applicant's policy clearly contained elements of racial and religious discrimination, explicitly referred to Article 17 ECHR.[8]

The abuse clause has also been used in relation to incitement to hatred against Jewish people. For example in *Ivanov v. Russia* (20 February 2007), in which the applicant accused the Jewish people of plotting a conspiracy against the Russian people and ascribed fascist ideology to the Jewish leadership.[9]

Most significantly, the abuse clause has consistently been applied in cases of Holocaust denial. The Commission's admissibility decisions concerning Holocaust denial consistently label this activity as 'contrary to the text and spirit of the Convention', declaring the requests in question manifestly ill-founded given the clear necessity in a democratic society of the state's actions.[10] The European Court of Human Rights (hereafter: the Court) emphasised in *Lehideux and Isorni v. France* (23 September 1998) the existence of a 'category of clearly established historical facts - such as the Holocaust - whose negation or revision would be removed from the protection of Article 10 by Article 17'.[11] This formulation was repeated in the Court's inadmissibility decision in *Garaudy v. France* (24 June 2003). Garaudy wrote a book, *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, which contained a chapter entitled *The Myth of the Holocaust*. Citing its judgment in *Lehideux*, the Court pointed out that negation or revision of clearly established historical facts of this type undermine the Convention's underlying values that support the fight against racism and anti-Semitism, and are capable of seriously troubling public order.[12] As a consequence, Holocaust denial, or grossly minimising or approving the crimes against humanity committed by the Nazis on the Jewish community, entailed the direct application ('guillotine effect') of Article 17.

This brief case law overview has made clear that all the Strasbourg inadmissibility decisions and judgments applying Article 17 concern activities related to the particular ideology of National Socialism, apart from one exception, however. In the case of *Norwood v. U.K.* (16 November 2004), the Court was of the opinion that displaying a large poster with a photograph of the Twin Towers in flame, the words 'Islam out of Britain - Protect the British People', and a symbol of a crescent and star in a prohibition sign, justified the direct application of the abuse clause.[13]

4. Undesirable Effects

The Court, when using the abuse clause, grounds its judgment only on the content of the statements in question. The intent of the speaker, the context in which comments are made and the impact they may or may not have, are then to a great extent ignored. This is an obvious contrast with the Court's traditional approach, which consists of an examination in light of the case as a whole (see *supra*). Denying the speaker in such a radical way any protection of his right to freedom of expression is a highly undemocratic method, as this could lead to situations that are unacceptable in a democracy worthy of that name.

Let us illustrate this view with the case of *Jersild v. Denmark* (23 September 1994). During an interview conducted by the Danish journalist Jersild, three so-called Greenjackets made abusive and derogatory remarks about immigrants and ethnic groups in Denmark. The Danish courts convicted Jersild for aiding and abetting the three youngsters in making racist comments amounting to incitement to hatred by broadcasting their views. This was irrespective of the fact that the programme was in the context of a serious discussion on anti-immigration movements in Denmark. Although the Court implicitly seemed to refer to Article 17 as to the content of the remarks ('There can be no doubt that the remarks ... were more than insulting to members of the targeted groups and did not enjoy the protection of Article 10'), the case was judged under Article 10.2 ECHR: a 'significant feature' of the case was that Jersild 'did not make the objectionable statements himself, but assisted in their dissemination in his capacity as a television journalist'. The programme's purpose could not be said to be the propagation of racist views and ideas, hence the interference was found not necessary in a democratic society. Imagine what the outcome, and the inevitable influence thereof on the press, would have been if the racist remarks in question amounted to Holocaust denial. As the Court systematically applies the abuse clause regarding negationist statements, no further contextual examination would have taken place, and the Danish State would have been justified in convicting the journalist.[14]

In other words, application of the abuse clause deprives applicants from the guarantee to see their expressions placed and judged in their specific contexts, all factual elements of the case taken into account. More specifically in relation to Holocaust denial, one can question whether application of the abuse clause provides sufficient safeguards to protect historians that approach the Holocaust in a scrupulous or critical way yet without intending to condone Nazi atrocities or to violate the reputation and rights of the Jewish community.

Moreover, if the abuse clause is used the proportionality of the sentence imposed by a member state is totally ignored. For example, in *Kühnen* (see *supra*), the sentence amounted to three years and four months imprisonment. Given the severity of this sentence, it undoubtedly needed European supervision, yet the Commission did not even consider it. Disregarding the proportionality of the

sanction contrasts sharply with other judgments of the Court in which it first held that incitement to hatred had occurred and hence that the interference responded to a compelling social need. However, due to the imposition of a sanction of imprisonment, the Court judged the interference in these cases disproportionate and therefore concluded it infringed Article 10 ECHR.[15]

For these reasons, we disapprove of the abuse clause being used in, among others, the field of freedom of expression. This point of view is strengthened by the finding that there is no need at all to apply Article 17 in this context. Indeed, towards other hate speech, even racist speech, the Court usually does not use the abuse clause, yet it affords the protection of Article 10 to such speech including the subsequent requirements under Article 10.2 ECHR. The judgment in *Féret v. Belgium* (16 July 2009) clearly illustrates this. Féret is the former president of the *Front National*, an extreme right-wing political party. In this capacity, he was convicted in Belgium for incitement to racial hatred, discrimination and xenophobia. In some pamphlets, he targeted the (Belgian) Muslim population by calling them 'Couscous Clan' and appointing them as the 'gang' responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The Court, having examined all the factual elements, decided that the statements incited racism and hatred against foreigners, and that at least part of the Belgian population could be influenced by them. It therefore considered the conviction of Féret to be necessary in a democratic society. However, the Court added that the statements in question were not grave enough to justify application of the abuse clause.[16]

At this point, it is particularly interesting to refer to the Court's case law on incitement to violence and terrorism. If Holocaust denial justifies using the abuse clause in order to safeguard democracy, then this should all the more be true for incitement to violence or terrorism; the latter are far more undermining to the organisational pillars of a democratic state and are far more likely to put citizens in danger. However, in the Court's case law dealing with the PKK, the Workers' Party of Kurdistan, which regularly calls for violent action in order to establish the independent state of Kurdistan, the abuse clause has not been applied.[17] The abuse clause was neither applied in *Leroy v. France* (2 October 2008), a case in which the conviction of a cartoonist for glorifying terrorism by condoning the 9/11 attacks was considered from the perspective of Article 10 of the Convention. If the abuse clause is not necessary to defend democracy against calls for violent action and terrorism, then this clause is, in our view, not necessary to defend democracy against Holocaust denial.

The democratic reflections explained above, combined with the finding that there is no need at all to use the abuse clause, suggest the scope of its application be narrowed. In our view, it is highly preferable to treat all hate speech equally under the *necessity* test of Article 10.2 ECHR.

5. Conclusion

Holocaust denial and related questioning of the historical facts of World War II are generally conceived of as so firmly contravening the spirit and values of the European Convention that no protection at all should be offered to them. Undoubtedly, the particular judicial approach at the Strasbourg level stems from the historical past of some Western-European (present-day) democracies, and is principally grounded in the fear of history repeating itself (see *supra*). The abuse clause firmly gives expression to that fear: Europe says no to activities or statements that are 'incompatible with fundamental democratic values'. But in order to be able to conclude with (relative) certainty that such activities have occurred, all factual elements of the case should be examined. If not, the abuse clause risks working over-inclusively and, although it was created to prevent abuse, could itself be used in an abusive way, becoming an instrument of abuse itself. Therefore, we hold that it is preferable to consider all hate speech from the scope of Article 10 ECHR, which consists of an examination of the necessity of any interference with the right to freedom of expression in light of the case *as a whole*.

Notes

[1] France, 19 April 1946; Italy, 27 December 1947; Germany, 23 May 1949. See P Le Mire, 'Article 17', *La Convention européenne des droits de l'homme. Commentaire article par article*, L-E Pettiti, E Decaux & PH Imbert (eds), Economica, Paris, 1995, pp. 509-510.

[2] See also Article 5 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR, 16 December 1966); Article 5 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR, 16 December 1966); Article 29 of the *American Convention on Human Rights* (ACHR, 22 November 1969); Article 54 of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (2000).

[3] See e.g. K Vasak, *La Convention européenne des droits de l'homme*, Pedone, Paris, 1964, p. 71, nr. 134.

[4] For example ECommHR, 20 July 1957, Case No. 250/57, *Kommunistische Partei Deutschland v. Germany*; ECommHR, 11 October 1979, Case Nos. 8348/78 and 8406/78, *Glimmerveen and Hagenbeek v. the Netherlands* and ECtHR (decision), 2 September 2004, Case No. 42264/98, *W.P. and Others v. Poland*; see also A Weber, *Manuel sur le discours de haine*, Council of Europe, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden, 2009, p. 22.

[5] See e.g. ECtHR, *Handyside v. The United Kingdom*, 7 December 1976; ECtHR, *Lingens v. Austria*, 8 July 1986; ECtHR, *Jersild v. Denmark*, 23 September 1994; ECtHR, *Zana v. Turkey*, 25 November 1997 and ECtHR (Grand Chamber), *Stoll v. Switzerland*, 10 December 2007. See also D Voorhoof, 'Artikel 10', *Handboek EVRM*, J Vande Lanotte & Y Haeck (eds), Intersentia, Antwerp, 2004-2005.

[6] E.g. S Van Drooghenbroeck, 'L'article 17 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme est-il indispensable?' *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, 2001, pp. 550-560.
[7] ECommHR, 12 October 1989, Case No. 12774/87, *B.H., M.W., H.P. and G.K. v. Austria* and ECommHR, 9 September 1998, Case No. 36773/97, *Herwig Nachtmann v. Austria*; see also ECtHR (decision), 1 February 2000, Case No. 32307/96, *Schimanek v. Austria.*
[8] ECommHR, Case No. 12194/86.
[9] ECtHR (decision), Case No. 35222/04.
[10] ECommHR, 29 March 1993, Case No. 19459/92, *F.P. v. Germany*; ECommHR, 11 January 1995, Case No. 21128/92, *Udo Walendy v. Germany*; ECommHR, 6 September 1995, Case No. 25096/94, *Otto E.F.A. Remer v. Germany*; ECommHR, 18 October 1995, Case No. 25062/94, *Honsik v. Austria*; ECommHR, 29 November 1995, Case No. 25992/94, *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Bezirksverband München-Oberbayern v. Germany*; ECommHR, 24 June 1996, Case No. 31159/96, *P. Marais v. France*; ECommHR, 26 June 1996, Case No. 26551/95, *D.I. v. Germany* and ECommHR, 9 September 1998, Case No. 36773/97, *Herwig Nachtmann v. Austria.*
[11] This case, however, concerned statements 'which are part of a continuing debate between historians', and the restriction thereof was finally judged not necessary in a democratic society: ECtHR, *Lehideux and Isorni v. Franc*e, 23 September 1998. See also ECtHR, *Chauvy v. France*, 29 June 2004 and ECtHR (decision), 20 April 1999, Case No. 41448/98, *Witzsch v. Germany*.
[12] ECtHR (Decision), Case No. 12194/86.
[13] ECtHR (decision), Case No. 23131/03.
[14] See also D Keane, 'Attacking Hate Speech under Article 17 of the European Convention on Human Rights', *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights,* Vol. 25/4, 2007, p. 661.
[15] See e.g. ECtHR, *Mehmet Cevher Ilhan v. Turkey*, 13 January 2009.
[16] See also ECtHR, *Soulas and Others v. France*, 10 July 2008 and ECtHR, *Balsytè-Lideikiené v. Lithuania*, 4 November 2008.
[17] See e.g. ECtHR, *Zana v. Turkey*, 25 November 1997 and ECtHR, *Sürek (no. 1) v. Turkey*, 8 July 1999.

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